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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

R
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विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

710

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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711

एक नवीनतम १९८३-१९८४

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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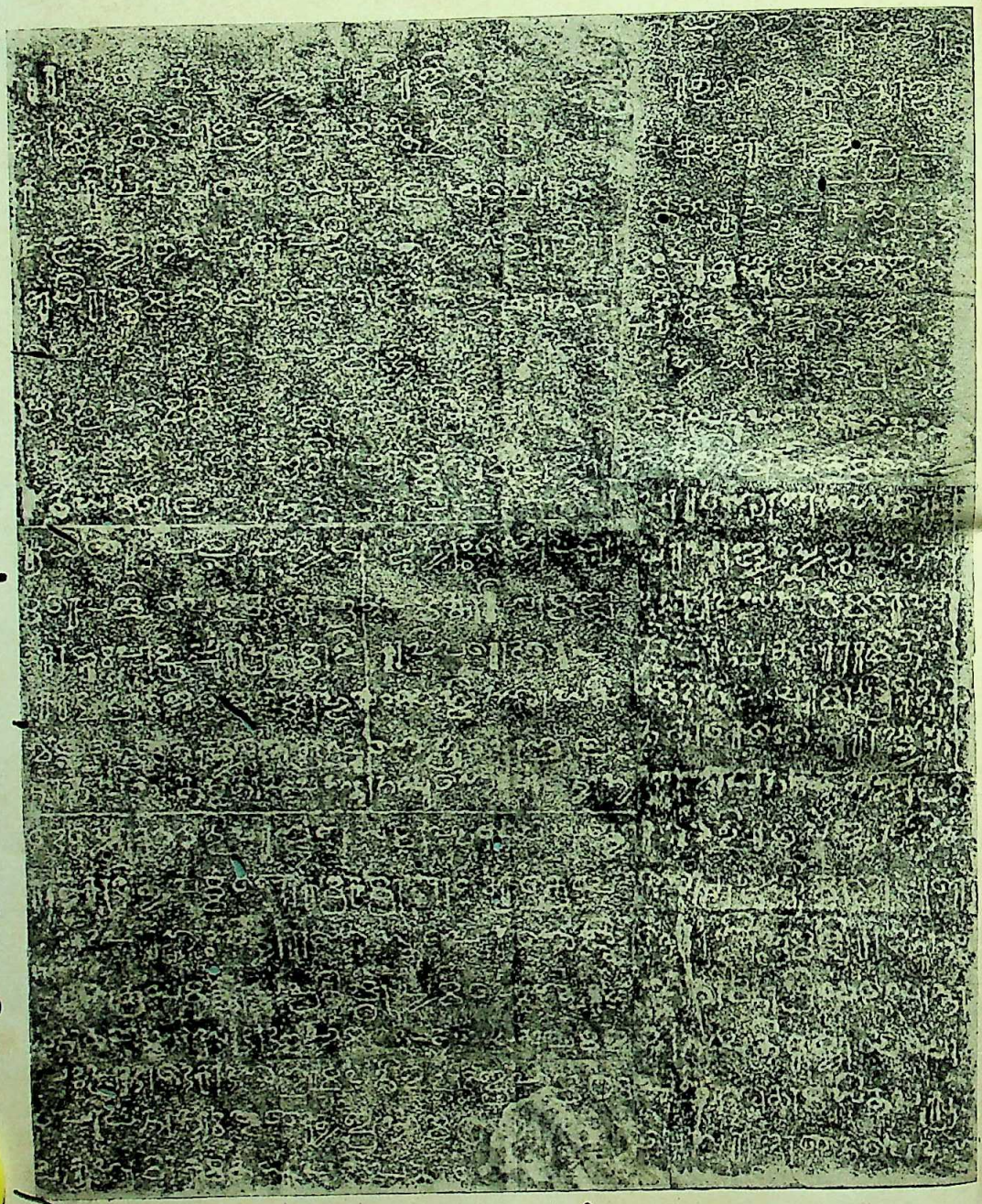

The Koḍumbāḷūr Inscription of Vikramakēsari.

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THE KOḌUMBĀḶŪR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-KĒSARĪ.

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI,

University of Madras.

Koḍumbāḷūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai state is a place of ancient renown. It is said in the *Śilappadikāram* to have been situated on the high-road then in use between Uṟaiyūr, the Cōḷa capital, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.[1] The *Periyapurāṇam* calls it the chief city of Kōṉāṭu, *Kōṉāṭṭuk-koḍi-nagaram*, which was the centre of the Vēḷir power represented for a time by Iḍaṅgaḻināyaṉār, in whose noble family was born Āditya who covered with gold from the Koṅgu country the roof of the Poṉṉambalam (golden hall.)[2] The king Āditya thus mentioned by Śēkkiḻār following Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi was most probably Āditya I Cōḷa, the father of Parāntaka I and conqueror of Koṅgu.

The Mūvar-Kōvil, the 'temple of the three', is an ancient structure of which only two temples survive, though the basement of the third is intact.[3] On the south wall of the central one of the three temples, all of them facing west, is engraved an interesting grantha inscription which I edit below from an impression supplied by Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Research Student in the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras. The inscription has been noticed before by Mr. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1908, and the text has been printed as No. 14 in the *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* (1929).

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1. Canto XI, l. 71.

2. There seems to be no evidence for the date of Iḍaṅgaḷi, who is placed by Venkayya in the 9th century A.D. A.R.E. 1908. II 84.

3. Venkayya says no traces of it exist. A.R.E. 1908, II 87.

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The inscription is mutilated both at the beginning and the end. The extant portion consists of twenty-four lines comprising eleven full stanzas in Sanskrit in various metres, and fragments of two others, one at the opening and the other at the end. The inscription occupies a wall space 4' 10" in height, and a pilaster on the wall which, though it must have been part of the original structure, bears no letters, divides each line into two parts of the length of 2' 8" to the left of it and about 1' 5" to the right.[1] The size of the letters is well over an inch, the ligatures sometimes even reaching two inches.

The alphabet exhibits all the peculiarities enumerated by Bühler as characterising the third or transitional variety of Grantha, which grew up in 9th and 10th centuries A.D.[2] The *virāma* is expressed by > placed to the right of the *mātṛkā* sometimes below the level of the top-line as in *t* in ll. 2 and 3 and sometimes above the line as in ll. 5, 7 and 12. The letter *ga* shows a projection to its left and perceptibly differs in appearance from its more modern representative. Medial *r* is marked by a slanting stroke on the top of the letter, and the consonants following are invariably doubled—*rgga*, *rdda* (l. 4), *rppu* (l. 13). The length of medial *ū* is expressed by a curve in addition to the *u* sign—*see* Koḍumbāḷūr in l. 13. The *anusvāra* and *ṁ* are used indifferently and in taikṣṇyam (l. 15) the *anusvāra* dwindles into a slight stroke. Besides the doubling of consonants following a medial *r*, the only peculiarities of orthography are the use of *tbha* for *dbha* in l. 7. and the omission of *Sandhi* in *yasmin śāsati* in l. 14. Examples of peculiarities of vocabulary are furnished by *sāmaja* (elephant) in l. 12, and *māḷikā* (place) in l. 13.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the three temples (*vimānatrayam*), now known as Mūvar-kōvil, by Vikrama-kēsarī, and the presentation to the Kāḷāmukha ascetic Maḷḷikārjuna of a big *maṭha* attached to the temple with eleven villages set apart for the maintenance of the *maṭha* (monastery). The opening verses give the following genealogy of Vikrama-kēsarī's dynasty, the *yadu-vaṁśa*:—

---

1. The temple has been recently restored by the State authorities, but we are assured that the original plan has been strictly maintained. In the plate the two parts of each line are shown pieced together.

2. *See* Indian Palaeography edn. Fleet pp. 72—3.

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A king (name lost) who captured the elephants of a lord of some place (name lost).[1]

|

In his family was born

Paravīrajit

|

Vīratuṅga, conqueror of the Maḷava

|

Ativīra Anupama

|

Saṅghakṛt

|

Nṛpakēsarī

|

Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vātāpi

|

Samarābhirāma: killed the Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala; married Anupamā, a Cōḷa princess

|

Bhūti Vikramakēsarī;[2] conquered the Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī; defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya and killed Vañcivēḷ; had a place at Koḍumbāḷūr and two wives Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā.

By Kaṟṟaḷi

|

Parāntaka — Ādityavarman

With characteristic insight, Venkayya suggested that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who was defeated by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, was the same as the Pāṇḍya with whom Āditya II Karikāḷa fought in his youth, and this suggestion gains in force from many other considerations besides the palaeography[3] of the inscription and the identity of the

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1. Venkayya's impression perhaps contained the additional word *Pāṇḍya* at the beginning, of which the present impression shows no trace. He calls the first king; "vanquisher of the Pāṇḍya elephants." (A.R.E. 1908, II 85)

2. *Minnāmalā* seems to be another title applied to him in v. 4,

3. Krishna Sastri thinks that palaeographically the inscription is earlier than the time of Āditya II. But as he seems to concede that Vikramakēsarī may have been contemporary with Gaṇḍarāditya (S. I. I. iii, p. 249) and as there can be no decisiveness in palaeographical arguments when the interval is so short, I see no reason to depart from Venkayya's position.

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name of the Pāṇḍyan opponent of Vikramakēsarī and Āditya. Āditya's father was Parāntaka; and Vikramakēsari's children are named Parāntaka and Āditya; this may well be a token of Vikramakēsari's political relation to the Cōḷa power. An inscription from Tillaisthāṉam,[1] dated in the thirteenth year of a Rājakēsarī, mentions a gift of a lamp by Varaguṇa-perumāṉār, the *dēviyār* of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. Another inscription also of the 13th year of Rājakēsarī from Lālguḍi records a gift from Naṅgai-varaguṇa-perumāṉār, the sister of the Cōḷa king.[2] Yet another Rājakēsarī inscription, from which the regnal year has been lost, mentions Kaṟṟaḷippirāṭṭi, the wife of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷ *alias* Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār.[3] The presumption arises that Varaguṇā, the sister of the Cōḷa king Rājakēsarī and wife of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Kaṟṟaḷi, the wife of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, mentioned in these inscriptions may be identical with the two queens of Vikramakēsarī mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. The three Rājakēsari inscriptions cited above doubtless belong to about the same period as that of Āditya II to which Venkayya assigned the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī. If what has been urged so far is correct, Vikramakēsarī must have had also the surnames Parāntakaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār. Pūdi recalls the name Bhūti which occurs in our Grantha inscription. A certain Vīra-cōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār is known to have been ruling at Koḍumbāḷūr in the reign of Parāntaka I Vīracōḷa.[4] It seems quite possible that Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār was the title of Vikramakēsarī, the contemporary of Parāntaka II.

The contemporaneity of Vikramakēsarī and Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa is borne out in fact by much stronger evidence than the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences. There is at Koḍumbāḷūr an undated fragmentary inscription[5] of Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. It is well-known that Sundara-cōḷa fought against the Pāṇḍya and "drove him into the forest," and that in this war he was assisted by Parāntakaṉ

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1. 287 of 1911 (S.I.I. iii, 113).
2. F. I. xx, p. 53.
3. 273 of 1903.
4. 470 of 1908 (S. I. I. iii, 98).
5. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

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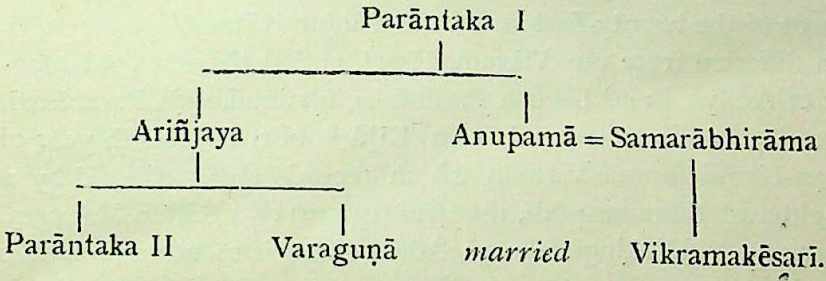
Śiṟiya-vēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr who served as a general of the king's army.[1] It is also clear that Parāntaka II was a Rājakēsarī.[2]

Thus, the mention of Vikramakēsari's queens in Rājakēsarī inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa is a Rājakēsarī, that an inscription of his is found in Koḍumbāḷūr, and that a general from Koḍumbāḷūr fought in Sundara Cōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country,—doubtless in the same war with Vīra-Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, distinguished himself—furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēsarī to Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. Varaguṇā was then the sister of Sundara Cōḷa, and daughter of Ariñjaya. The period of Sundara Cōḷa's rule may be fixed roughly in the years A. D. 956-70. This must also be the period of Vikramakēsari's rule. His mother Anupamā, called also a Cōḷa princess, was perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Parāntaka I. The relations thus established are seen in the following table :—



It has been said : "Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ, a contemporary of Vikramkēsarin of Koḍumbāḷūr, published his Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi inscription in the 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava, and his Śendalai inscription in the 10th year of Māṟaṉjaḍaiyaṉ. The 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava would fall according to our arrangement in 805 A. D. Therefore Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ and his contemporary Vikramakēsarin of Koḍumbāḷūr should have lived in 800 A. D."[3] The Śendalai inscription mentioned is apparently No. 10 of 1899, and the Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi record is No. 18 of the Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions (Texts). But no attempt is made to establish the identity of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ *alias* Kuvāvaṉ Śāttaṉ of the Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi inscription with the Mutta-

1. E. I, xii pp. 121-6.
2. S. I. I, iii, 119.
3. A Rangaswami Sarasvati in *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag.* July 1923, pp. 207-8.

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raiyaṉ of the Śendalai record which cites the tenth year of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ ; and what is more important, no evidence is cited in proof of the assumption that this Muttaraiyaṉ was a contemporary of Vikramakēsarī of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. Viḍēlviḍugu is a title, and Muttaraiya, a dynastic name, and no chronological deductions can be safely based on their recurrence either separately or together in different inscriptions. We have therefore no reason to accept a date about 800 A. D. for Vikramakēsarī in preference to one, say between 950 and 970 A. D. suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph.

It may also be observed that a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi Perumāṉār, daughter of a Muttaraiyar and queen of a Śembiya Irukkuvēḷār, is mentioned in an inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd. 45) of the sixth regnal year of a Parakēsarī ; this lady is obviously different from her namesake, the Cōḷa princess of the Rājakēsarī inscriptions noticed above. Likewise, Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Āditta ṉ (Āccaṉ) Vikramakēsarī mentioned in two Parakēsarī records of the twenty-first year from Kuḍumiyāmalai[1] must have been different from our Vikramakēsarī, and perhaps a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarī. There is a mutilated record from Kīḷūr[2] of the eleventh year of Vijaya-Nandivikrama-varmaṉ which records a gift of gold by a daughter of Vikrama-pūdi, the *dēvi* (queen) of a Śāttaṉ Maṟavaṉ. The name Viḍēlviḍugu Iḷaṅgō Adiyaraiyaṉ is mentioned in this record perhaps as an *alias* of Vikramapūdi. The identity of this chieftain must also remain doubtful at present. These examples make it clear that the contents of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī should not be taken to be a complete account of the history of the Vēḷs as has sometimes been done.

Much of the history recorded in this inscription is still very obscure. Besides defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Vikramakēsarī claims to have won a victory against Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī and to have put an end to the line of Vañcivēḷs. If the chronology suggested above is correct and Vikramakēsarī lived in the middle of the tenth century, the Pallava forces mentioned could not have been those of the rulers of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line which had been practically wiped out of existence by the Cōḷas before the beginning of the tenth century A. D. It seems likely

1. Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Madras) and Pd. 63 and 65.
2. 295 of 1902.

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therefore that the wars against the Pallavas and Vañcivēḷs were of the nature of local conflicts in which the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain gained the upper hand as against other local feudatories less enterprising than himself. Late local traditions[1] centering round a certain Śivandeḷunda Pallavarāyar and his descendants seem to lend support to this view. One wonders, however, if by the expression *pallavasya dhvajinyāḥ*, the composer of the inscription meant *Vallabhasya dhvajinyāḥ* which would be an allusion to the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III which occurred towards the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and is said to have reached as far as Rāmēśvaram. Samarābhirāma, the father of Vikramakēsarī, killed a Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam. Caḷukki need not necessarily be a reference to the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi though the conquest of Vātāpi (Badami) by Paradurgamardana seems to render this probable. The ancient Tamils applied the name *śaḷukki* to local chieftains, *kuṟunila maṉṉar*. If we accept this meaning and treat the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam as another incident in local quarrels, the reference to the conquest of Vātāpi becomes difficult to explain. At the same time, there seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala may be referred. Though we have as yet no confirmation of the facts from other records, it is not unlikely that the Cāḷukyas[2] survived at Bādāmi with diminished power after the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and took part in the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa III; possibly a fight took place at Adhirājamaṅgalam (Tiruvadigai)[3] and a Cāḷukya prince lost his life in it. In any event, the 'conquest of Vātāpi' by Paradurgamardana has nothing to do with the two invasions of Vātāpi in the seventh century, in the reigns of the Pallava kings Narasiṁhavarman I and Paramēśvaravarman I.[4] The Maḷava conquered by Vīratuṅga, the second name in the genealogy, must have been a local ruler of the tract called Maḷanāḍu between the modern Trichino-

1. Miss Minakshi first drew my attention to these legends, and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar D. Litt kindly lent me two mss. of an *ulā* and a *Piḷḷaittamiḻ* on Śivandeḷunda Pallavarāyaṉ.
2. Bom. Gaz. I ii, pp. 378-9.
3. 360 of 1921.
4. *Contra* A. R. Sarasvati *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag. ibid.*

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poly and Tanjore Districts. A Maḷavēndra gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha I (c. A. D. 740-65).[1]

The father of Vikramakēsarī is called *Yaduvaṁśakētu*, the banner of the race of Yadu (v. 3) and Vikaramakēsarı is himself called *yādava* (v. 11). This recalls the legend preserved in an early Śaṅgam poem preserved in the anthology of the *Puṟaṉāṉūṟu* (No. 201) addressed to an Iruṅgōvēḷ by the celebrated Kapilar. The poet says that the *Vēḷir* arose from the fire-pit of a northern sage, and counted forty-nine generations ruling at Tuvarai (Dvārakā).

vaḍapāṉ=muṉivaṉ=ṟaḍaviṉuṭ=ṭōṉṟic-
ceṁbu puṉain-diyaṟṟiya śēṇeḍuṁ=puriśai-
yuvarā=vīgait=tuvarai=yāṇḍu
nāṟpat-toṉbadu vaḻi-muṟai vanda
vēḷiruḷ vēḷē.

The late annotator Naccinārkkiniyar adds that eighteen families of these Vēḷir chieftains followed Agastya to the south and were established by him in the different parts of the Tamil country. This legend explains to some extent the connections between several local dynasties of South India attested by epigraphy.[2]

The Kālāmukhas (*asita-vaktras*), to whom Vikramakēsarī gave a big *maṭha* with eleven villages attached to it, were a set of Pāśupata ascetics addicted to many gruesome practices[3] and apparently very influential in South India between say the ninth and twelfth centuries, when they are mentioned in several inscriptions of the Tamil country. Vidyārāśī, the spiritual *guru* of Mallikārjuna is mentioned in an early inscription from Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) engraved on a slab together with a representation of the teacher himself worshipping a liṅga. The slab is in the Madras Museum.[4]

KOḌUṀBĀḶŪR—TEXT.

1. नाथगजयूथहरः
2. (आ) सीत् ॥ तद्वंश्यः परवीरजिन्माळवजिच्छ्रीवीरतुंगोमुतो जा-
3. (तो)स्मादतिवीर इत्यनुपमस्तस्मादभूत्संघकृत् । अस्माच्छ्रीनृप-
4. केसरी विववृधे यो बाल एवोरगैस्तत्सूनुः परदुर्गमर्द्द-

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1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 57—8.
2. A. R. E. 1927 II 73.
3. Bhandarkar—*Vaiṣṇavism*, etc. pp. 127—8.
4. E. I. x. p. 64 and n. 5.7.

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5. न इति ख्यातस्स वातापिजित्[1] ॥ तस्य समराभिरामः पुत्रः सुत्रामतेजसः ।
6. अधिराजमंगलाजौ यो निजघान च(ळु)क्किम्[2] ॥ तस्याच्युतस्य कम-
7. लेव सरस्वतीव पद्मोत्भवस्य गिरिजे(व)हरस्य साक्षात् । प्रेयस्य-
8. भूदनुपमेति यथार्थनाम्न[3] श्रीचोळराज(दु)हिता यदुवंशकेतोः[4] ॥
9 तस्यामस्य बभूव भूतिरपराम्मिन्नामळाख्यान्दधन् श्रीमान्विक्रमकेस-
10 (रीं)ति समरे लब्धान्यनामा नृपः[5] ॥ कावेरीवारि शोणं समक्(त)
11 रुधिरैः पल्लवस्य ध्वजिन्याः यो वीरो वीरपाण्ड्यं व्यजयत स-
12 मरे वञ्चिवेळन्तकोभूत्[6] ॥ मत्तारिसामजान्हत्वा वसन्विक्रमकेसरी ।
13 कोटुम्पाळूर्पुराद्रीन्द्रमाळिकाविवरोदरे[7] ॥ विद्वत्कल्पतरौ क्षितीश्व-
14 रकरद्वन्द्वाम्बुजेन्दौ भुवं यस्मिन्शासति मेदिनीजयरमाश्रीकीर्त्तिवा-
15 ग्वल्लभे । तैक्ष्ण्यं नेत्रयुगे भ्रुवोश्चलनता केशेषु काष्ण्यं(न्त)-
16 नौ तन्वीनान्तनुताभवत्स्तनयुगे चान्योन्यसंपीडनम्[8] ॥ तस्याभूता-
17 न्देव्यौ कற்றळि वरगुणसमाह्वये सत्यौ । कற்றळिरभवज्जननी प-
18 रान्तकादित्यवर्म्मणो कम्रकम्राणाम्[9] ॥ आत्रेयगोत्रजश्श्रीमान्माथुरो
19 वेदपारगः । विद्याराशेस्तपोराशेश्शिष्यो[श्री]भून्माल्लिकार्ज्जुनः ॥ [10]
20 विमानत्रयमुत्थाप्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य महेश्वरम् । स्वनाम्ना प्रिययोर्न्ना-
21 म्ना तस्मै सोदाद्बृहन्मठम्[11] ॥ तस्मै कालमुखादानयतिमुख्याय याद-
22 वः । प्रादादेकादशग्रामविनिबद्धं बृहन्मठम्[12] ॥ पञ्चाशतामसितवक्रत-
23 पोधनानाम् भुक्त्यै बृहन्मठ...वे स राजा । नैवेद्यग-
24 न्धकुसुमाक्षतधूपदीपताम्बू (ल)

Translation.

There was ..... the capturer of the herd of elephants of the lord. . . .

(1) Of his family was Pravīrajit; the glorious Vīraṭuṅga, the vanquisher of the Maḷava was born of him; from him came Ativīra Anupama who gave birth to Saṅghakṛt; from him (came) the glorious Nṛpakēsari (Lion of kings) who as child grew up with the serpents; his son was the celebrated Paradurga-mardana (the destroyer of enemy forts), the conqueror of Vātāpi.

(2) Of him who had a divine splendour, Samarābhirāma (Delightful in battle) was the son who attacked (or killed ?) the Caḷukki in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala.

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1. The metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
2. Anuṣṭubh.
3. Read नाम्नी.
4. Vasantatilakā.
5. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. (half verse)
6. Sragdharā. (half verse)
7. Anuṣṭubh.
8. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
9. Āryā.
10. Anuṣṭubh.
11. Anuṣṭubh.
12. Anuṣṭubh.

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(3) Of him, who was the banner of the Yaduvaṁśa, Anupamā (peerless) rightly so called, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, was the beloved (wife), who resembled Lakṣmī (the wife) of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī of the Lotus-born (Brahmā), and Girijā (Mountain-born) of Hara himself.

(4) Of her was born to him the glorious king Bhūti, who bore the alternative name *minnāmalā*[1] (?) and who earned in war the title of Vikramakēsari (the lion of valour).

(5) The water of the Kāvēri was turned red with blood of the Pallava's forces; and this warrior defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya in battle, and became Death to Vañcivēḷ.

(6) After fighting the rutting elephants, *viz.*, his foes, Vikramakēsari was living in the palace on the hill in the city of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(7) While the earth was ruled by him, the Kalpataru to the learned, the moon to the lotuses, *viz.*, the two hands of the (subordinate) kings[2] and the beloved of the Goddesses of Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, sharpness was found (only) in the pair of eyes, instability in the two eyelashes and darkness in the hair (of women); weakness in their bodies; and jostling in the pair of (their) breasts.

(8) He had two good wives called Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā; (and) Kaṟṟaḷi became the mother of two very beautiful (sons), Parāntaka and Ādityavarman.

(9) There was the glorious Mallikārjuna, born of the Ātrēyagōtra, resident of Mathurā, the master of the Vēda and the pupil of Vidyārāśi, the abode of austerity.

(10) Having raised three *vimānas* in his name and in the name of his two wives and having enshrined Mahēśvara, he (Vikramakēsari) gave to him (Mallikārjuna) a big *maṭha*.

(11) The Yādava gave to that ascetic chief of the *Kālamukha* persuasion a big *maṭha* together with eleven villages attached to it.

(12) For the enjoyment of fifty Asita-vaktra (Kālamukha) ascetics the big *maṭha*. . . that king . . offerings, sandal flowers, *akṣata, dhūpa, dīpa, tām (būla)* . . . . . .

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1. Is this a Tamil name—minnāmalai (the shining mountain)?

2. *i. e.* they closed their palms together in salutation. The moon is in Indian poetry, the foe of the lotus whose petals close in her presence.

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SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA

II

ADHIKARAṆASAṄGATI.

BY

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The Adhikaraṇamañjarī of Citsukha was published in Part IV of Volume V of the Journal of the Oriental Research with a few introductory remarks regarding Citsukha and those immediately associated with him. A few more particulars regarding them are furnished in this paper, and the Adhikaraṇasaṅgati, an edition of which was promised in that part, is issued herewith.

The teacher of Citsukha was stated to be Jñānottama, author of a Vedāntic work known as Nyāyasudhā. Appayya Dīkṣita in his Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha[1] refers to this Nyāyasudhā in the following words :—

न्यायसुधाकृतस्त्वाहुः—घटादेरैन्द्रियकत्वेऽपि 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिरधिष्ठान-सत्तानुवेध इति न विरोधः । एवं 'नीलो घटः' इत्यादिः अधिष्ठाननैल्यानुवेधः किं न स्यात् इति चेत् न । श्रुत्या सद्रूपस्य वस्तुनो जगदुपादानत्वमुक्त-मविरोधात् सर्वसंमतमिति तदनुवेधेनैव 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिप्रतिभासोपपत्तौ घटादावपि सत्ताकल्पने गौरवम् । तस्य रूपादिहीनत्वात् नैल्यादिकं घटादिवेव कल्पनीयं वैषम्यात् इति ।

It is clear that this Nyāyasudhā is an Advaitic work and is therefore in all likelihood identical with the one attributed to Jñānottama. Of the Jñānasiddhi not a single reference has come to light till now. Among the works of Citsukha now available, the commentary on the Khaṇḍanakhādya of Śrī Harṣa is very important. Extracts from this commentary have already been published in the edition of the Khaṇḍana in the Chowkhamba

1. *See* p. 269,270 Ben. Edn.

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Press. Śrī Harṣa is generally supposed to have lived in the latter half of the 12th century and very probably in the early half of the 13th century also.

One or two facts have to be considered in this connection. The date of Ānandagiri has been fixed by Mr. Tripathi as 1260-1320. He was the pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, who was in turn a pupil of Citsukha. Now calculating back from this date of Ānandagiri, that of Citsukha will fall between 1180 and 1240. This date for Citsukha will make him a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa of Khaṇḍana. Again, Mr. M. R. Telang, in his preface to the Mahāvidyāviḍambana, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series remarks that Amalānanda the author of the Kalapataru was a pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, pupil of Citsukha. Amalānanda had two teachers, Anubhavānanda and Sukhaprakāśa. The later was his Vidyāguru. Amalānanda lived in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāja of Devagiri, who ruled between 1247 and 1260. The date of Sukhaprakāśa will therefore have to be fixed between 1200 and 1250 and Citsukha will be much older. It is not likely that Citsukha a saṁnyāsin as he was, would have cared to comment upon the work of a contemporary, especially when he was not a saṁnyāsin. In these circumstances, there is yet a tangle in the date of Citsukha and Śrī Harṣa that is to be unravelled.

It was said that Sukhaprakāśa was the pupil of Citsukha and the extant works of Sukhaprakāśa were referred to in the paper referred to above. To that list must be added a commentary on Citsukha's Nyāyamakaranda, known as Vivecanī. Copies of this commentary are preserved in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore.[1]

A few remarks are necessary regarding the division of Adhikaraṇas in the Mañjarī and in the Saṅgati. It is known that Citsukha has commented upon the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara and he seems to have intended these two pamphlets, which are supplemental to each other, as appendixes to his commentary on the bhāṣya. One important point that has to be noticed in this connection is the constitution of twelve adhikaraṇas in the first pāda of the first adhyāya, and fourteen in the third pāda of the first adhyāya, whereas all the editions of the bhāṣya now available give us eleven and thirteen respectively in the pādas referred to. The *jyotiś-caraṇādhikaraṇa* is made up of the following four sūtras, in the available editions:—

1. *See* Burnell Nos. 9780, 9781, 9782 and 9788.

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ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् । १. १. २४.

छन्दोऽभिधानान्नेति चेत् न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात् तथा हि दर्शनम् । १. १. २५.

भूतादिपादव्यपदेशोपपत्तेश्चैवम् । १. १. २६.

उपदेशभेदान्नेति चेत् नोभयस्मिन्नप्यविरोधात् । १. १ .२७.

In the opinion of Citsukha these four do not form a single adhikaraṇa but two. The sūtra ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् is an adhikaraṇa by itself; the three succeeding sūtras form a different adhikaraṇa introduced to remove an *adhikāśaṅkā*. Both in the Adhikaraṇamañjarī and Adhikaraṇasaṅgati they are dealt with as such.

Similarly the *Daharādhikaraṇa* in the third pāda of the first adhyāya consists of the following sūtras

दहर उत्तेरभ्यः १. ३. १४.

गतिशब्दाभ्यां तथा हि दृष्टं लिङ्गं च १. ३. १५.

धृतेश्च महिम्नोऽस्यास्मिन्नुपलब्धेः १. ३. १६.

प्रसिद्धेश्च १. ३. १७.

इतरपरामर्शात् स इति चेन्नासंभवात् १. ३. १७.

उत्तराच्चेदाविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु १. ३. १९.

अन्यार्थश्च परामर्शः १. ३. २०.

अल्पश्रुतेरिति चेत्तदुक्तम् १. ३. २१.

according to the various editions of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya now available. But Citsukha regards these sūtras as constituting two adhikaraṇas, one ending with the sūtra इतरपरामर्शात् and the other beginning with sūtra उत्तराच्चेत् etc.

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॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीचित्सुखाचार्यविरचिता

ब्रह्मसूत्राधिकरणसङ्गतिः

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

प्रथमः पादः

"स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः" इति नित्याध्ययनविधिना अधीतवेदान्तवाक्येष्वापातदर्शनेनेदमवगच्छति—"न वा अरे पत्युः कामाय" इत्युपक्रम्य "आत्मनस्तु कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति" इत्युपसंहारात् सर्वतो विरक्तस्यात्मप्रेप्सोः "एतावत् अरे खल्वमृतत्वम्" इति वचनात् अमृतत्वसाधनमात्मदर्शनम् "द्रष्टव्यः" इत्यनूद्य "श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः" इति मननिदिध्यासनाभ्यां फलोपकार्यङ्गाभ्यां सह श्रवणं नामाङ्गि विधीयत इति ॥

स च कियद्विशेषणविशिष्टोऽधिकारी को वासौ श्रवणविधिविषयः किं वा तदमृतत्वमिति जिज्ञासते । तदिदं जिज्ञासितम् अनुबन्धत्रयं श्रौतमपि न्यायेन निर्णेतुं सूत्रयामास परमकारुणिको भगवान् बादरायणः—**"अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा"** (१. १. १.) ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमणम्, तथापि किंलक्षणं पुनस्तद्ब्रह्मेत्यत आह—**"जन्माद्यस्य यतः"** (१. १. २.) इति ॥

किं तत्र प्रमाणमिति तत्राह— **"शास्त्रयोनित्वात्"** (१. १. ३.) इति ॥

ननु शास्त्रस्य कथं सिद्धेऽर्थे प्रामाण्यमिति तत्राह—**"तत्तु समन्वयात्"** (१. १. ४.) इति ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमाणं तथापि न ब्रह्मणि, प्रधानादिपरत्वादिति तत्राह—**"ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम्"** (१. १. ५.) इति ॥

भवतु तर्हि वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मणि प्रामाण्यं तथापि कुत्र तन्निर्गुणं प्रतिपाद्यं कुत्र वा सगुणमिति कथं निर्णय इति । तत्र तावन्निर्गुणमित्याह—**"आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात्"** (१. १. १२.) इति ॥

कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधित्वेन सगुणमुपास्यमिति तदाह—**"अन्तस्तद्धर्मोपदेशात्"** (१. १. २०.) इति ॥

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पूर्वाधिकरणे विवक्षितोपाधित्वरूपेणोपास्यमित्युक्तम् । कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधेः अन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनमिति पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवाक्यानन्तरवाक्य इत्याह—"**आकाशस्तल्लिङ्गात्**" (१. १. २२.) इति ॥

इमं न्यायं समनन्तरवाक्येऽप्यतिदिशति—"**अत एव प्राणः**" (१. १. २३.) इति ॥

आकाशवायुविकारवाचकयोर्ब्रह्मपरत्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन तेजोवाचकस्यापि ब्रह्मपरत्वमाह—"**ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात्**" (१. १. २४.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणेऽन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनाकथनप्रसङ्गेन कौक्षेये ज्योतिषि संपाद्योपास्यं परं ज्योतिर्ब्रह्मेति निरूपयति—"ज्योतिः" इति ॥

चरणाभिधानं गायत्रीविषयमित्याक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—"**च्छन्दोऽभिधानान्नेति चेन्न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात्तथा हि दर्शयति**" (१. १. २५.) ॥

ननु भवत्वेवं अन्यथासिद्धतात्पर्यवद्ब्रह्मलिङ्गवशाद्ब्रह्मपरत्वमुदाहृतवाक्यानाम् । यत्र पुनरनेकेषां लिङ्गदर्शनं तत्र कस्यानुसारेण किं निर्णेतव्यमिति तत्राह—"**प्राणस्तथानुगमात्**" (१. १. २८.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

ननु भवतु स्पष्टलिङ्गवशात् उदाहृतवाक्यानां ब्रह्मपरत्वम् ; अस्पष्टलिङ्गेषु तु कथं निर्णय इत्याकाङ्क्षायां पूर्वाधिकरणवज्जीवलिङ्गबाधेन "मनोमयः प्राणशरीरः" इत्यत्र ब्रह्मैवोच्यत इत्याह—"**सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धोपदेशात्**" (१. २. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वैशिष्ट्यादिति भोक्तृत्वं ब्रह्मणो निरस्तम् । अत एवौदनोपसूचितो भोक्ता न ब्रह्मेत्याशङ्क्याह—"**अत्ता चराचरग्रहणात्**" (१. २. ९.) इति ॥

अत्तृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णयानन्तरं पातृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णयायाह—"**गुहां प्रविष्टावात्मनौ हि तद्दर्शनात्**" (१. २. ११.) इति ॥

ननु "ऋतं पिबन्तौ" इति द्वित्वसंख्याश्रवणाच्चेतनतया समानस्वभावयोः जीवपरयोः प्रथममवगमात् तदनुसारेण चरमश्रुतगुहाप्रवेशादयो व्याख्याताश्चेदिहापि दृश्यत इति प्रत्यक्षत्वाभिधानात् प्रथमावगतच्छायापुरुषानुरोधेनामृतत्वादयः स्तुत्याः कथञ्चिद्व्याख्येया इत्याशङ्कायामाह—"**अन्तर उपपत्तेः**" (१. २. २३.) इति ॥

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स्थानादिव्यपदेशादिति ब्रह्मणः पृथिव्यादीनि स्थानानि "यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन्" इत्यादिना निर्दिष्टानीति सूचितं पूर्वाधिकरणे । इदानीं तु "यः पृथिव्याम्" इत्यादिनापि परमात्मनः स्थानानि व्यपदिश्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्याह— **"अन्तर्याम्यधिदैवादिषु तद्धर्मव्यपदेशात्"** (१. २. २८.) इति ॥

ननु तर्हि भूतयोनिवाक्ये निर्दिश्यमानानाम् अदृश्यत्वादिधर्माणां प्रधाने संभवात् विरुद्धं द्रष्टृत्वादीनां च धर्माणां पूर्वाधिकरणवाक्य इवानिर्देशात् भूतयोन्यक्षरं प्रधानम् इत्याशङ्क्याह—**"अदृश्यत्वादिगुणको धर्मोक्तेः"** (१. २. २२.) इति ॥

रूपोपन्यासप्रसङ्गेन त्रैलोक्यशरीरो वैश्वानरः परमात्मेत्याह—"वैश्वानरः" इति ॥ "अग्निर्मूर्धा" इत्यादिरूपोपन्यासं विहाय "पुरुष एवेदं विश्वम्" इति रूपमुपन्यस्यते इत्युक्तम् । तर्हि तेनैव न्यायेन मूर्धाद्यवयवी न परमेश्वर इत्याशङ्क्याह—"वैश्वानरः" इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणलिङ्गमप्रमाणं विवक्षितलिङ्गवशादन्यपरं निर्णीतम् ; तत्प्रसङ्गेन वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणश्रुतिप्रमाणमसाधारणलिङ्गवशादन्यपरतया निर्णीयते— **"वैश्वानरः साधारणशब्दविशेषात्"** (१. २. २४.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

उपक्रमगतश्रुतिप्रमाणस्य वाक्यशेषगतलिङ्गेनान्यथा निर्णयप्रसङ्गेन जगदायतनत्वस्य प्रधानब्रह्मादिसाधारणलिङ्गस्य वाक्यशेषगतात्मश्रुत्या ब्रह्मपरता निर्णेतव्येत्याह—"द्युभ्वाद्यायतनम्" इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यात्मा वैश्वानरः परमात्मा चेत्तर्हि त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वेन निर्दिश्यमानमर्थान्तरं न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—**"द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं स्वशब्दात्"** (१. ३. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्यशेषगतात्मवाक्योपक्रमगतायतनार्थो निर्णीतः ; तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं वाक्योपक्रमगतात्मसत्यश्रुतिभ्यां वाक्यशेषगतभूमशब्दार्थो निर्णीयते—"भूमा" इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वकथनेनार्थप्राप्तं श्रुतिमुखेनोपपादयितुमाह—**"भूमा संप्रसादादध्युपदेशात्"** (१. ३. ८.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणयोः श्रुतिवशान्निर्णय उक्तः । तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं विधरणाख्यलिङ्गेनाम्बरान्तविधारकमक्षरं ब्रह्मेत्याह—"अक्षरम्" इति ॥ अथवा अती-

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तानन्तरसूत्रे "सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः" इति दर्शनाद्यभावाः ब्रह्मधर्मत्वेन निर्दिष्टाः। तत्प्रसङ्गेन स्थूलाद्यभावानां ब्रह्मधर्मत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यमनुस्मृत्य तद्वाक्यगताक्षर-शब्दस्यार्थमाह—**अक्षरमिति** ॥ अथवा सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः ब्रह्माभिधानाद्यस्मिन्नक्षरे स्थूलादयः सर्वे धर्माः प्रतिषिध्यन्ते तस्याब्रह्मत्वाशङ्कायामाह—**"अक्षरमम्बरान्तधृतेः"** (१. ३. १०.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अक्षरमोङ्कार इति पूर्वपक्षत्वात् तत्प्रसङ्गादोङ्काराक्षरेणाभिध्यातव्यः पुरुषोऽत्र निर्णीयते परमात्मेति—**"ईक्षतिकर्मव्यपदेशात् सः"** (१. ३. १३.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे "परात्परं पुरुषमीक्षते" इत्येतद्वाक्यवशादभिध्यातव्यपुरुष-निर्णयमकरोत्, अत्र परमेश्वरस्य पुरि शयनमिति पूर्संबन्धाधिगमादयमपि पूर्संबन्धी दहराकाशो ब्रह्मेति प्रतिपादयति—**"दहर उत्तरेभ्यः"** (१. ३. १४.) इति ॥

अपहतपाप्मत्वादीनां जीवेऽसंभवान्न दहराकाशो जीव इत्युक्तम्। इदानीम् असंभवोऽसिद्ध इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—**"उत्तराच्चेदाविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु"** (१. ३. १९.) इति ॥

"परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते" इति वाक्यार्थविचार-प्रसङ्गेन "तच्छुक्रं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः" इति वाक्येन निर्दिष्टपरंज्योतिष्ट्वप्रतिपादनपरम् "न तत्र सूर्यो भाति" इति वाक्यं विमृशति—**"अनुकृतेस्तस्य च"** (१. ३. २२.) इति ॥

ननु पूर्वाधिकरणे परमात्मनो ज्योतिष्ट्वप्रतिपादनाज्ज्योतिरिवेति ज्योतिषोपमीयमानः पुरुषो न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—**"शब्दादेव प्रमितः"** (१. ३. २४.) इति ॥

मनुष्याधिकारत्वादिति मनुष्याणामधिकारकथनादमनुष्याणां देवानामनधिकारमांशङ्क्याह—**"तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः संभवात्"** (१. ३. २६.) इति ॥ मन्त्रार्थवादादिवाक्यानां देवताविग्रहादौ समन्वयस्य प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वादस्त्येव समन्वयाध्यायेनापि सङ्गतिः।

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ननु यथा मनुष्याधिकारनियमापवादेन देवादीनामधिकारः तथा द्विजात्यधिकारनियमापवादेन शूद्रस्याप्यधिकारोऽस्तु, संवर्गविद्यायाम् "अह हारे त्वा शूद्र" इति विद्याधिकारिणः शूद्रशब्देन परामर्शादित्याशङ्क्य शूद्रस्याधिकारं निराकरोति—"**शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात् सूच्यते हि**" (१. ३. ३४.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे बहुलिङ्गविरोधाच्छूद्रशब्दस्यैकस्य बाधो दर्शितः । इदानीं तत्प्रसङ्गादेकस्याः प्राणशब्दश्रुतेः सवायुकजगत्कम्पनाश्रयामृतत्वसाधनलिङ्गैः बहुभिः विरोधान्मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—"**कम्पनात्**" (१. ३. ३९.) इति ॥

बहुलिङ्गविरोधात् श्रुतिबाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु तत्प्रसङ्गात् प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या ज्योतिःश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—"**ज्योतिर्दर्शनात्**" (१. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

"अथ य एष संप्रसादः" इत्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमकरोत् पूर्वाधिकरणे । तत्प्रसङ्गात् अनन्तरपठितवाक्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमाह — "**आकाशोऽर्थान्तरत्वादिव्यपदेशात्**" (१. ३. ४१.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या पूर्वपठितज्योतिःश्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु लिङ्गानुगृहीतश्रुतिप्रमाणाद्वाक्योपक्रमपठिताकाशश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—"आकाशः" इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे लिङ्गवशात् श्रुत्या सहितात् श्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः ; इह तु लिङ्गवशात् लिङ्गस्यैव बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—"**सुषुप्त्युत्क्रान्त्योः भेदेन**" (१. ३. ४२.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मण्यवगतिसामान्यं प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं च सूचितम् । तत्रावगतिसामान्यं प्रपञ्चितं गतेन ग्रन्थेन । संप्रति प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं प्रपञ्च्यते चतुर्थपादेन । पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रसिद्धगोचरलिङ्गप्रमाणस्य बलवत्त्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु प्रकरणानुगृहीतस्थानप्रमाणात् तत्सजातीयस्यैव स्थानप्रमाणस्य बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—"**आनुमानिकमप्येकेषाम् इति चेन्न शरीररूपकविन्यस्तगृहीतेः दर्शयति च**" (१. ४. १.) ॥

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पूर्वाधिकरणे कारणवाचिना अव्यक्तपदेन कार्यं शरीरं लक्ष्यत इत्युक्तम्। इदानीं धर्मवाचकरोहितादिवर्णैः तेजोऽबन्नानि लक्ष्यन्त इत्यङ्गीकृत्य मानान्तरस्यापि प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—"चमसवदविशेषात्" (१. ४. ८.) इति ॥

अथवा रथादिरूपकल्पनोपदेशप्रसङ्गेनाजारूपकल्पनोपदेशवाक्यस्य प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—"चमसवत्" इति ॥ पूर्वाधिकरणेऽजाशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानविषयत्वमजामन्त्रस्य निराकृतम्। इदानीं तु पञ्चजनशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानादितत्त्वविषयत्वं मन्त्रान्तरस्य निराकरोति—"न संख्योपसङ्ग्रहादपि नानाभावादतिरेकाच्च" (१. ४. ११.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणेषु वेदान्तवाक्यानां केषांचित् प्रधानादिपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकृतम्। इदनीं तु सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां कारणविषयाणां परस्परव्याहतानां स्वतोनिश्चायकत्वासंभवात् प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धप्रधानकारणपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकरोति—"कारणत्वेन चाकाशादिषु यथाव्यपदिष्टोक्तेः" (१. ४. १४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे बहूनां परस्परविरुद्धानां अविरोधेनैककारणविषयत्वं दर्शितम्। इदानीमेकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थविषयस्यार्थविशेषविषयत्वेन कारणविषयत्वं वाक्यस्य निर्णीयते—"जगद्वाचित्वात्" (१. ४. १६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे जीवव्यतिरिक्तपरमात्मविषयत्वं प्रश्नव्याख्यानसामर्थ्याद्वाक्यस्य दर्शितम्। अतो जीवपरमात्मनोः भेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः इत्याशङ्क्य मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणे आत्मशब्दोपक्रमात् तस्य जीवस्य ब्रह्मधर्मविशिष्टतया प्रतिपादनादौपाधिको भेदः न वास्तव इति प्रतिपादयति—"वाक्यान्वयात्" (१. ४. २९.) इति ॥

अतीतग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण ब्रह्मणो जगत्कारणत्वमतिव्यापकं न भवति प्रधानादीनां जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावादित्युक्तम्। इदानीं ब्रह्मणोऽपि जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावः समानः कारणत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यानां निमित्तकारणत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादित्याशङ्क्योपादानकारणत्वं ब्रह्मणः श्रुतिप्रमितमिति साधयति—"प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात्" (१. ४. २३.) इति ॥ अथवा यत्प्रतिज्ञाबलात्पूर्वाधिकरणे मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मपरत्वं निर्णीतम् इदानीं तत्प्रतिज्ञाबलादेव ब्रह्मण उपादानत्वं साधयति—"प्रकृतिश्च" इति ॥

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पूर्वोक्तन्यायेन प्रधानकारणवादस्याशब्दत्वेऽपि परमाण्वादिकारणवादानाम् "अणुः पन्थाः" "अणोरणीयान्" "असदेवेदमग्र आसीत्" इत्यादिशब्दवद्ब्रह्मणो जगत्प्रकृतित्वलक्षणमतिव्यापकमित्याशङ्क्यातिदेशेन निराचष्टे—"**एतेन सर्वे व्याख्याता व्याख्याताः**" (१. ४. २८.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रथमः पादः

ननु वैदिकशब्दाभावेऽपि स्मृतिलक्षणशब्दवत्त्वमस्तीति प्रधानवादिनः शङ्कामुपन्यस्य निराकरोति—"**स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्न अन्यस्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात्**" (२. १. १.) इति ॥

सांख्यस्मृतेः मन्वादिस्मृतिविरोधेऽपि योगस्मृतेः स नास्ति, मन्वादिस्मृतिष्वपि योगस्य प्रतिपादनादित्याशङ्क्य तथापि प्रधानविषये योगस्मृतिः न प्रमाणमित्याह—"**एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः**" (२. १. ३.) इति ॥

पराभिमतशब्दानामाभासतां प्रसाध्य तदभिमतन्यायानां स्वपक्षविरोधिनाम् आभासतां दर्शयति—"**न विलक्षणत्वादस्य तथात्वं च शब्दात्**" (२. १. ४.) इति ॥

यद्यपि सांख्ययोगन्यायविरोधः समन्वयस्य निराकृतः तथापि समन्वयो न सिध्यति' अण्वादिकारणवादिभिः उद्भावितन्यायविरोधात्, तेषां च तार्किकत्वेन प्रसिद्धत्वात् तदीयन्यायानामबाध्यत्वादित्याशङ्क्य तन्निराकरणायोक्तन्यायमतिदिशति—"**एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहा अपि व्याख्याताः**" (२. १. १२.) इति ॥

एवं तर्कविरोधं परिहृत्य समन्वयस्य प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधमाशङ्क्य परिहरति—"**भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत् स्याल्लोकवत्**" (२. १. १३.) इति ॥

भेदाभेदमवलम्ब्य मानान्तरविरोधः परिहृतः ; संप्रति स्वसिद्धान्तेन परिहरति—"**तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः**" (२. १. १४.) इति ॥

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एकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञासिद्धये कारणानन्यत्वं कार्यस्य प्रतिपादितम् । तेनैव न्यायेन जीवस्यापि कारणानन्यत्वात् जीवधर्माहिताकरणादयो ब्रह्मणि प्रसज्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—**"इतरव्यपदेशाद्धिताकरणादिदोषप्रसक्तिः"** (२. १. २१.) इति ॥

सजातीयात् चेतनादभिन्नत्वावलम्बनेन ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य पूर्वाधिकरणेन परिहृतम् । इदानीं विजातीयभेदावष्टम्भेन कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—**"उपसंहारदर्शनान्नेति चेत् न क्षीरवद्धि"** (२. १. २४ इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे क्षीरादिपरिणामिद्रव्याणां दृष्टान्तत्वेनाभिधानाद्ब्रह्म परिणामीति शङ्का स्यात् ; तन्निराकरणेन विवर्तस्यैव श्रुत्यर्थातां दर्शयितुमाह—**"कृत्स्नप्रसक्तिर्निरवयवत्वशब्दकोपो वा"** (२. १. २६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अवयवाभावात् कारणत्वाक्षेपे सति सर्वशक्तियुक्तत्वात् कारणत्वमुपपन्नमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं सर्वशक्तित्वे प्रमाणाभावात् करणाभावाच्च कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—**"सर्वोपेता च तद्दर्शनात्"** (२. १. ३०.) इति ॥

शक्तिमतोऽपि प्रयोजनाभावे प्रेक्षावत्प्रवृत्त्यदर्शनात् ब्रह्मणः प्रयोजनशून्यजगद्विरचनमनुपपन्नमिति पुनः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—**"न प्रयोजनवत्त्वात्"** (२. १. ३२.) इति ॥

संप्रति जगद्विलयसर्गे प्रयोजनाभावे तद्द्विषयरागद्वेषाभावात् परमेश्वरस्य विषमजगद्धेतुत्वमनुपपन्नमित्याशङ्क्य समाधत्ते—**"वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये न सापेक्षत्वात् तथा हि दर्शयति"** (२. १. ३४.) इति ॥

पूर्वं ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वविघातिनः परैः उद्भावितान् दोषान् परिहृत्य संप्रति निर्विशेषत्वेऽपि मायाविशिष्टे कारणत्वानुगुणानां सर्वगुणानामपि संभवादुपपन्नं कारणत्वमित्युपसंहरति—**"सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेश्च"** (२. १. ३७.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे ब्रह्मणि कारणत्वानुगुणा गुणाः संभवन्तीत्यभिधाय संप्रति प्रधाने तदसंभवमाह—**"रचनानुपपत्तेश्च नानुमानम्"** (२. २. १.) इति ॥

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ननु ब्रह्मणोऽपि कारणानुगुणा गुणा न संभवन्ति तद्विशिष्टगुण-चैतन्यस्य तत्कार्ये जगति समानजातीयगुणानामारम्भकत्वादिति वैशेषिक-मतमाशङ्क्य तत्प्रक्रिययैव व्यभिचारयति—"**महद्दीर्घवद्वा ह्रस्वपरिमण्डला-भ्याम्**" (२. २. ११.) इति ॥

इदानीं स्वपक्षे तदुक्तं दूषणं परिहृत्य तदभिप्रेतपरमाणूनां कारणत्वं निराचष्टे—"**उभयथापि न कर्मातस्तदभावः**" (२. २. १२.) इति ॥

एवमर्धवैनाशिकमतनिराकरणानन्तरं सर्ववैनाशिकस्य बौद्धस्य बुद्धिस्थ-त्वात्तन्मतं निराकरोति—"**समुदाय उभयहेतुकेऽपि तदप्राप्तिः**" (२. २. १८.) इति ॥

एवं विज्ञानस्य सालम्बनवादं निराकृत्य निरालम्बनवादनिराकरणायाह—"**नाभाव उपलब्धेः**" (२. २. २८.) इति ॥

एवं मुक्तकच्छमतनिराकरणानन्तरं मुक्ताम्बरस्य धीस्थत्वात्तन्मतं दूषयति —"**नैकस्मिन्नसंभवात्**" (२. २. ३३.) इति ॥

एवं लाञ्छनकेशमतं निराकृत्य जटाधारिमाहेश्वरमतं निराकरोति— "**पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात्**" (२. २. ३७.) इति ॥ अथवा सप्तपदार्थवादिनि निरस्ते पञ्चपदार्थवादिमतप्राप्तावाह—"पत्युः" इति ॥

माहेश्वरमतनिराकरणानन्तरं वैष्णवमतं निराकरोति—"**उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्**" (२. २. ४२.) इति ॥ अथवा पञ्चपदार्थवादिमते अपास्ते चतुर्व्यूहपदार्थ-पक्षमपाकरोति—"उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्" इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

परपक्षाणां परस्परविप्रतिषेधादनपेक्षत्वे प्रदर्शिते श्रुतीनामपि परस्पर-विप्रतिषेधादुपेक्ष्यतामाशङ्क्य परिहरति—"**न वियदश्रुतेः**" (२. ३. १.) इति ॥

वियदुत्पत्तिं प्रसाध्य पवनोत्पत्तिं प्रसाधयति—"**एतेन मातरिश्वा व्याख्यातः**" (२. ३. ८.) इति ॥

असंभाव्यमानजन्मनोः वियत्पवनयोः उत्पत्तिमाकर्ण्य कारणत्वाद्ब्रह्मणोऽ-प्युत्पत्तिः स्यादिति संभावनायामाह—"**असंभवस्तु सतोऽनुपपत्तेः**" (२. ३. ९.) इति ॥

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पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रसङ्गात् कार्यत्वं सतो निराकृतम् । संप्रति तस्यैव सतः "तत्तेजोऽसृजत" इति तेजःकारणतावगमात् "वायोरग्निः" इति विप्रतिषेधमाशङ्क्याह—"तेजोऽतस्तथा ह्याह" (२. ३. १०.) इति ॥

संप्रत्यनन्तरनिर्दिष्टतेजःसंभवमम्भसामाह—"आपः" (२. ३. ११.) इति ॥

इदानीं तु "ता अन्नमसृजन्त" इत्यप्कार्यत्वेनावगम्यमानान्नस्य पृथिवीत्वं साधयति—"पृथिव्यधिकाररूपशब्दान्तरेभ्यः" (२. ३. १२.) इति ॥

एवं पूर्वपूर्वकार्यत्वश्रवणादुत्तरोत्तरभूतानां न ब्रह्मकारणत्वमित्याशङ्क्याह—"तदभिध्यानादेव तु तल्लिङ्गात् सः" (२. ३. १३.) इति ॥

एवं सृष्टिक्रममभिधाय लयक्रममाह—"विपर्ययेण तु क्रमोऽत उपपद्यते च" (२. ३. १४.) इति ॥

इदानीमभिहितभूतोद्भवप्रलयक्रमस्य करणसृष्ट्या बाधमाशङ्क्य परिहरति—"अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी क्रमेण तल्लिङ्गादिति चेन्नाविशेषात्" (२. ३. १५.) इति ॥

इत्थं भोग्यवर्गस्योद्भवमभिधाय संप्रति भोक्तुः संभवसंभावनायामाह—"चराचरव्यपाश्रयस्तु स्यात्तद्व्यपदेशो भाक्तः तद्भावभावित्वात्" (२. ३. १६.) इति ॥

देहोत्पत्तौ जीवोत्पत्तिं निराकृत्य महासर्गेऽपि तस्योत्पत्तिं निराचष्टे—"नात्माश्रुतेः नित्यत्वाच्च ताभ्यः" (२. ३. १७.) इति ॥

एवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमभिधाय चैतन्यस्यापि तत्स्वरूपतया नित्यतामाह—"ज्ञोऽत एव" (२. ३. १८.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदं निराकृत्याधुना देशतः परिच्छेदं निराचष्टे—"उत्क्रान्तिगत्यागतीनाम्" (२. ३. १९.) ॥

एवं नित्यत्वज्ञत्वादिजीवचिन्ताप्रसङ्गेन तस्यैव धर्मान्तरं चिन्तयति—"कर्ता शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्" (२. ३. ३३.) इति ॥

उक्तस्य कर्तृत्वस्य स्वाभाविकत्वमाशङ्क्याह—"यथा च तक्षोभयथा" (२. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

औपाधिकमपि पूर्वोक्तं कर्तृत्वम् ईश्वरायत्तमेवेत्याह—"परात्तु तच्छ्रुतेः" (२. ३. ४१.) इति ॥

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एवं जीवेश्वरयोः कर्तृप्रयोजककर्तृत्वभावेनाभिहितयोः संबन्धाकाङ्क्षायाम् अंशांशिभावलक्षणं संबन्धं दर्शयति—"**अंशो नानाव्यपदेशादन्यथा चापि दाशकितवादित्वमधीयत एके**" (२. ३. ४३.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

एवं कर्तृस्वरूपनिरूपणानन्तरं करणादिधर्मनिरूपणाय पादमारभमाणः करणानामुत्पत्तिं तावदाह—"**तथा प्राणाः**" (२. ४. १.) इति ॥

करणानामेव संख्यानिर्णयार्थमाह—"**सप्त गतेः विशेषितत्वाच्च**" (२. ४. ५.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदमभिधाय अधुना तेषामेव देशपरिच्छेदमणुतां चाह —"**अणवश्च**" (२. ४. ७.) इति ॥

एवम् इतरप्राणनिरूपणानन्तरं मुख्यप्राणस्योत्पत्तिम् आह—"**श्रेष्ठश्च**" (२. ४. ८.) इति ॥

इदानीं तस्यैव स्वभावविशेषमाह—"**न वायुक्रिये पृथगुपदेशात्**" (२. ४. ९.) इति ॥

तस्यापि करणानामिवाणुतां दर्शयति—"**अणुश्च**" (२. ४. १३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्राणस्याध्यात्माधिदैवाविभागेनाणुत्वविभुत्वे निर्णीते। तत्प्रसङ्गेनाध्यात्मिकानां प्राणानामधिदेवापेक्षां चेष्टामाचष्टे—"**ज्योतिराद्यधिष्ठानं तु तदामननात्**" (२. ४. १४.) इति ॥

तेषामेव मुख्यप्राणातिरिक्तत्वमाह—"**त इन्द्रियाणि तद्व्यपदेशादन्यत्र श्रेष्ठात्**" (२. ४. १७.) इति ॥

एवं भूतभौतिककारणनिरूपणानन्तरं तन्नामरूपव्याकरणस्य परमेश्वरकर्तृकतामाह—"**संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्तिस्तु**" (२. ४. २०.) इति ॥ अथवा अनन्तराधिकरणे नामरूपभेदात्करणनां प्राणभेदप्रस्तावनाप्रसङ्गेन नामरूपव्याकरणं किंकर्तृकमिति निरूपयति—"संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्ति"

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

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RĀJAŚEKHARA THE DRAMATIST.

BY

SIR C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRIAR.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the July-October Number of the Journal deals with the question of the identity of Mahīpāla the patron of Kṣemeśvara with the Gurjara ruler of Kanoj and inclines strongly against the view that the Mahīpāla referred to by Kṣemeśvara in the preclude to the Caṇḍakauśikam (Dor-darpāḍhyaḥ sa punar abhavat Śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ) was Mahīpāla I of Bengal who reigned between 794-1026. A. D.

As Kṣemeśvara and Rājaśekhara were contemporaries and as Rājaśekhara in his plays refers with pride to his having been the Guru of Mahendrapāla and his having been patronised by his son Mahīpāla, I think the date of Rājaśēkhara, and the identity of the two kings referred to by him, will not only be interesting, but will throw light on the controversy dealt with, by Professor Sastri. On the questions with which I propose to deal in this article, eminent scholars are in disagreement, and if I enter the lists, it is not in the role of a vanquisher of heroes but in the more humble role of a supplier of ammunition.

Rājaśekhara gives more information of himself than most other authors. There can be little doubt from what he states, that he was the Guru of King Mahendrapāla and was patronised by his son Mahīpāla. In the Bāla Rāmāyaṇam he describes his grandfather Akālajalada as Mahārāṣṭra Cūḍāmaṇi. He says his father was a minister of Nirbhaya who has been identified with Mahendrapāla. In his plays he uses the Maharāṣṭric Prākṛt and in the Karpūramañjarī he speaks of "the campak blossoms blooming in spring like a Maharāṣṭra girl's cheeks rubbed with saffron paste". Both the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa and the Bāla Bhārata were acted according to him at Mahodaya which is another name for Kanoj. Though a Brahmin, he married Avanti Sundarī described by him in the Karpūramañjarī as 'crest garland of the Chauhan family', and the Karpūramañjarī was he says, acted at her request. He described himself as "having risen to lofty dignity by the successive steps of poet, chief poet, and teacher of king Nirbhaya". It is unfortunate that, amidst all his prolixity

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and self adulation he gives no indication as to the date when he lived or wrote his works.

As to the period when he flourished the opinions of eminent scholars are divided and range from the 8th to as late as the 14th centuries. Doctor Peterson in his introduction to the Subhāṣitāvali observes—"The Dramatist has been supposed to date from as late as the 14th century but his real date is the middle of the 8th Century. This is established by the fact that Kṣīrasvāmin who wrote a commentary on the Amarakośa, and who was the teacher of Jaysiṁha (correctly Jayāpīḍa) of Kashmir 750 A. D. quotes from a verse in the Viddhasālabhañjikā in his note on Amara 1. 8. 4., and that King Mahendrapāla whom Rājaśekhara himself refers to as a pupil was reigning in 761 A.D." If Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator of Amarakośa can be identified with the teacher of Jayāpīḍa, this would clearly fix Rājaśekhara's date. We find, from the 4th book of the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa that between 700 and 750 A. D., the following kings of the Kārkoṭa Dynasty reigned in Kashmir—Muktāpīḍa; Lalitāiditya, the conqueror of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja; Kuvalayāpīḍa; Vajrāditya; Pṛthivyāpīḍa; Saṅgrāmāpīḍa; and Jayāpīḍa; who is said to have reigned for 31 years from 3828 to 3859 Laukika or Saptarṣi era which began in 3076 B. C. (755 to 786 A. D.). Verse 489 of the 4th Taraṅgiṇī is as follows 'Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical science called Kṣīra the learned Jayāpīḍa gained distinction with the wise.' With reference to the śloka Stein in his note observes "Kṣīra, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar, is identified by the tradition of the 'Kashmirian Pandits with Kṣīrasvāmin, son of Īśvara Svāmin, the author of a well known commentary on the Amarakośa and several other grammatical treatises still extant." Professor Max Muller in his notes and illustrations to "India, what it can teach us" (p. 334) observes that Kṣīra, the commentator of Amara quotes from Kālidāsa. Professor Aufrecht, however, places the commentator Kṣīra between the 11th and the 12th centuries chiefly because he quotes from the Śabdānuśāsana ascribed to Bhoja. Professor Buhler mentions a Kṣīra as the author of Avyayavṛtti and Dhātutaraṅgiṇī and he calls him Jayāpīḍa's teacher.

Proressor Buhler[1] refering to Peterson's view above quoted observes "I think it hazardous to maintain that the

1. Indian Antiquary vol. xv, p. 242.

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identity of Kṣīrasvāmin the commentator of Amarakośa with Kṣīra the teacher of Jayāpīḍa (not Jayasiṁha as the editor says) is established. If the second argument that King Mahendrapāla who was reigning in 761 was Rājaśekhara's pupil is based on the Dighwa Dabuli plate published by Mr. Fleet[1] I think it requires further consideration. A Mahendrapāla may have reigned in Kanoj in 761 A. D. but it has not been shown that this king was Rājaśekhara's Nirbhaya Mahendrapāla, the father of Mahīpāla. According to this inscription the sons of Mahendrapāla were Bhoja II and Vinayapāla. Professor Aufrecht thinks that Kṣīrasvāmin must be placed in the 11th Century as he quotes the Śabdārṇava of Bhoja, but it is not at all clear that King Bhoja was the author of this book.

The Dighwa Dubuli grant dated Harṣa Saṁvat 155 (A. D. 761-762) is found copied on page 105 of the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XV) and is translated by Mr. Fleet. It purports to be issued from the camp (Skandhāvāra) at Mahodaya. Dr. Fleet thinks it establishes the fact that Bhoja I was the father of Mahendrapāla who reigned in 761-2 and that by his first wife he had a son Bhoja II and by his second wife a son Vinayapāla who reigned in 794-795. He deals with the age of Rājaśekhara in Vol. XVI of the Indian Antiquary and refers to the Asni inscription dated Vikrama Saṁvat 774 (A. D. 917-18) found in the village of Asni about 90 miles from Konouj which is a grant by Mahīpāla who is said to be the successor of Mahendrapāla. He places Rājaśekhara in the first quarter of the 10th century.

The Sayadoni Inscription which is set out and dealt with by Professor Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica[2] is an important piece of evidence. It records several donations made by different persons to the worship of Viṣṇu in the village of Sayadoni. The learned Professor observes—"The names of the four sovereigns of Mahodaya or Kānyakubja presented to us in the inscription with their known dates would be as follows :—Bhoja 862-876-882; Mahendrapāla or Nirbhaya Narendra or Mahīpāla 903-907 pupil of Rājaśekhara; his son Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla or Herambapāla 917 patron of Rājśekhara; his son Devapāla 948".

The Bilhari Chedi Inscription[3] which Hall, with some hesitation, ascribes to the 12th century and which

1. I. A. Vol. 15, p. 107, 2. Vol. I, p. 162.
3. Epigraphia Indica, I, p. 268.

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Kielhorn says should be fixed at the end of the 10th or the begining of the 11th century refers, in verse 85 to Rājaśekhara as follows "May this composition the several parts of which are well joined and which would deserve praise even from the wonderstruck poet Rājaśekhara, endure to the end of the world." Speaking of the verse, Hall observes[1]—"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyrised in it, we are told, by Śrīnivāsa son of Sthirananda and, in the remaining three by Sajjana son of Sthira. The compilor and supplementor of their labour seems to have been Rājaśekhara." If this were the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity from a litarary point of view now approaches solution." He follows the matter up in Vol. XXXI, p. 13 and observes—"One poet now remains, whose connection with Kanoj may be counted a certainty, I mean, Rājaśekhara the author of Viddhaśālabhañjikā, the Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava or Bāla Bhārata, the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa and of the Karpūramañjarī. In all these works, he speaks of his patron as being Mahendrapāla of the city of Mahodaya. Mahendrapāla is also called Mahīpāla and his father Nirbhaya Narendra. To the first the poet was preceptor. If Nirbhaya Narendra was the title of Bhoja I of the Kanoj copper plate, whose son was Mahendrapāla it cannot be that this Rājaśekhara compiled and supplemented the Bilhari inscription which I have ascribed with much hesitation, to the early part of the 12th century." Hall is entirely mistaken when he says that Bhoja was called Nirbhaya Narendra and there is nothing in the Cedi inscription which can be taken to mean that Rājaśekhara "compiled and supplemented" the inscription. All that verse 85 says is that it would excite the admiration of Rājaśekhara.

H. H. Wilson thinks that Rājaśekhara's date is the end of the 11th or the begining of the 12th century. Professor Tauney thinks he flourished under Mahendrapāla of Kanoj 903-907 and Mahīpāla 917 A. D. Professor Peterson places him in the first quarter of the 10th Century on the strength of the Asni Inscription. Professor Bhandarkar in his report of the Sanskrit Manuscripts 1882-3 thinks he should be placed about the 10th century. V. S. Apte is more guarded and thinks that he should be placed between the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th, and the middle of the 10th century. Professor Sten Konow in his essay on Rājaśekhara prefixed to the drama Karpūramañjarī

1. Vol. XXX, J. R. B. A. S. 330.

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translated by Lanman places him about 900 A. D. Professor Max Muller who places him as late as the 14th century seems to comfound the poet Rājaśekhara with the Rājaśekhara who wrote the Prabandhakośa about 1347 A. D. Professor Keith places him about A. D. 900 and at page 232, Sanskrit Drama, he observes that Karpūramañjarī was his first drama, and that Nirbhaya whose teacher he says he was is " clearly the Pratīhāra king of Mahodaya or Kānya Kubja of whom we have records in A. D. 893 and 907." He thinks that the Viddhasālabhañjikā was produced for the Kalacuri King Yuvarāya Keyūravarṣa of Tripuri and that Rājaśekhara must have visited his Court and observes. " But as the unfinished Bāla Bhārata was written for Mahīpāla the successor of Mahendrapāla whose records begin in 914 we may assume he returned to the Court of the Pratīhāras and died there ".

Rājaśekhara refers to the Dramatist Bhavabhūti and the poet Meṇṭha in scene I verse 16 of the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa in which he says " of yore there was the poet sprung from an anthill, then he became Bharatṛmeṇṭha; again he existed as Bhavabhūti. He now is " Rājaśekhara." Of Bhavabhūti it may be safely asserted that he lived in the closing years of the 7th century. Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to Vākpati and Bhavabhūti as the court poets of Yaśovarman who, according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī was conquered by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the limits of whose reign appear to be 6'9 to 775 A. D. Vākpati himself in the Gauḍavadha refers to Bhavabhūti and speaks of his own work " flashing with excellence like drops of the nectar of poetry from the ocean of Bhavabhūti ". The date of Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha, the author of Hayagrīvavadha, cannot be fixed with certainty. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī III verses 260, 261 and 262 he is said to have been patronised by Mātṛgupta who was succeeded by Pravarasena. Professor Max Muller places Mātṛgupta who he says was the patron of Bhratṛmeṇṭha as reigning from 544 to 550 A. D. Professor Keith places Meṇṭha in the latter part of the 6th century.

Maṅkha, the author of Śrī Kaṇṭha Caritra who lived in the reign of Jayasiṁha (1129—1150) also refers to Rājaśēkhara thus :—The verse runs as follows :—

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प्रक्रमैः हठवक्रिम्णो मुरारिमनु धावतः ।
श्रीराजशेखरगिरे नीवी यस्योक्तिसंपदाम् ॥ [1]

Rājaśekhara is quoted by Somadeva in the third Aśvāsa of Yaśastilakacampū written about 954-960. Dhanika in his commentary of the Daśarūpa quotes from Rājaśēkhara's Karpūramañjarī and Viddhasālabhañjikā. Both Dhanañjaya the author of Daśarūpa and Dhanika the commentator lived in the reign of Vākpatirāja II also known as Muñja (the predecessor of the celebrated Bhoja) who reigned from 974 to 995 and who is referred to in Padmaguptas Navasāhasāṅka Caritra. The Cāḷukya King Tailapa who conquered and put to death Muñja reigned from 930 to 997 A. D. In the concluding śloka of the Daśarūpa, Dhanañjaya says that "the work was given to this world by Dhanañjaya son of Viṣṇu whose learning was derived from Muñja Mahārāja." The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa attributed to Bhoja the successor of Muñja, and Kṣemendra who lived between 1037 and 1066, also quotes from Rājaśekhara's Dramas.

The Jain Merutuṅga in his Prabandhacintāmaṇi which was composed about the year 1360 of the Vikrama Era says that Rājaśekhara was at the Court of king Bhoja. The story he relates is as follows :—When Bhoja was going on an elephant through the city he found a beggar picking up grains and when questioned he said—"I am Rājaśekhara who, having been prevented by the chief men of the city from obtaining in any other way an entrance into your court of various learned men have striven by this trick to enjoy an interview with you. The king after knowing his ability showered gifts on him and Rājaśekhara well pleased thanked the king in his śloka "Bhekaiḥ Koṭaraśāyibhiḥ" & etc., which śloka was known as the "Akālajalada" (cloud out of season). Curously enough this very śloka is also to be found in the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva (śloka 199) but in connection with the story of a poor brahmin to whom a thief presented a bracelet given to him by king Bhoja and who on being arrested and brought before the king explained his possession in this śloka. The Śaṅkara Digvijaya also refers to Rājaśekhara as having met the great Śaṅkarācārya, but the work has little historical value. Some confusion has been caused by identifying Rājaśekhara with the author of Prabandhakośa

1. Canto 25, Verse 74.

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written about 1348 who amongst other things gives the life of Śrī Harṣa, the author of Naiṣadha.

The grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda IV dated Śaka Samvat 852 found in Cambay transcribed and translated with an introduction by Professor Bhandarkar in Vol. VII of the Ephigraphia Indica pages 26 to 46 is valuable and instructive when read with the inscriptions already referred to by me. In verse 19 of the inscription, king Indra is said to have "completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala." The Professor is of opinion that the complete destruction of Mahodaya is an exaggeration as the Gwalior Pehora and Sayadoni inscriptions show that Bhoja, Mahendrapāla Kṣitipāla, or Mahīpāla and Devapāla reigned in Kanoj between 862 and 948. He observes at page 30 "Now as for Indra III we have dates 915 to 917 and these can hardly be any doubt that they were contemporaries. And it is almost certain that this is the Kṣitipāla whom Indra III conquered". He refers to a Kharuraho inscription set out in Vol. I Epigraphia Indica p. 121 as showing that King Kṣitipāla was replaced on his throne by the Caṇḍella King Harṣadēva who flourished in the beginning of the 10th century. He refers to the Bhalagpur grant of Nārāyaṇa set out in the Indian Antiquary[1] which shows that Dharmapāla the second Prince of the Pāla Dynasty in turn conquered. Indra III, acquired the sovereignty of Mahodhya, and bestowed it on Cakrayuddha. This event is also referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla[2]. The conclusion the learned Doctor draws from the various grants are that Indra III conquered Kanoj and ousted Kṣitipāla also called Mahīpāla, that Indra was defeated by Harṣadeva who restored Kṣitipāla to his lost dominion of Kanoj. He thinks that Kṣitipāla bore the epithet Cakrayuddha.[3]

There can, therefore, be little doubt that Mahīpāla succeeded Mahendrapāla after probably a short reign by Bhoja II.

As Rājaśekhara refers to Bhavabhūti he cannot be earlier than the eighth Century A. D. and as he is quoted by Dhanika

1. Vol. xv, p. 304 and Vol. xx, p. 187.
2. Vol. IV of the E. Indica p. 243.
3. *See also* V. Smith Oxford History of India, p. 189.

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who flourished in the reign of Muñja (974-995) he cannot be later and it must have taken some years for his fame to have spread. Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla referred to by Rājaśekhara as the Rulers in whose Courts he flourished have been shown by the inscriptions referred to above to have reigned between 903 to 917. Rājaśekhara whose unfinished drama Bāla Bhārata was according to him written for Mahīpāla must have died during his reign. Putting together all these and other facts referred by me I think it can safely be asserted that Rājaśekhara's period can be put between 850 and 920 A. D. As Mahīpāla I of Bengal reigned between 974-1026, it is impossible that Rājaśekhara can have been his contemporary and if Kṣemeśvara was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara as is the generally accepted opinion, his reference to Mahīpāla in the Caṇḍakauśikam must refer to the Mahīpāla of Kanoj.

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THE VṚTTIS.

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(Continued from page 370 of Volume VI.)

Coming to the three other Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvatī, these are first distinguished from Bhāratī as Artha-Vṛttis, Vṛttis explaining action as contrasted with speech. There is great confusion on the correct meaning of these names. Abhinava thus defines the Vṛttis in the Vṛttyadhyāya :—

'पाठ्यप्रधाना भारती, अभिनयप्रधाना सात्त्वती, अनुभावाद्यावेशसमय-रसप्रधाना आरभटी, तदाद्यो (ततदाद्यो) परञ्जकप्रधाना कैशिकीति ।'

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. III, p. 5.

He gives a fuller exposition of the four in chapter one.

'धर्मादिपुरुषार्थचतुष्टये साध्ये वागङ्गसत्त्वचेष्टासामान्यम् । तच्च संक्षिप्तेन अवान्तरभेदेन चतुर्धा । यद्यत् किल कर्मारभ्यते, तत्र वाङ्मनःकायव्यापार-स्तावदस्ति । तत्र कस्यचित् लालित्यवैचित्र्यक्रमस्यानुप्रवेशः, यत उत्तम-प्रकृतीनां सौष्ठवमय एव सर्वो व्यापारः, तदेव तद्वृत्तिचतुष्टयम् । **भारती वाग्वृत्तिः । मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती** । सदिति प्रख्यारूपं संवेदनं तद्यत्रास्ति तत्सत्त्वं मनः, तस्येयमिति । 'इयर्ति' इत्यरा भटाः सोत्साहा अनलसाः, तेषामारभटी, **कायवृत्तिः**[1] । केशाः किञ्चिदप्यर्थक्रियाजातम् अकुर्वन्तो देह-शोभोपयोगिनः, तद्वत् सौन्दर्योपयोगिव्यापारः कैशिकीवृत्तिरिति तावन्मुख्यः क्रमः । * * * **एवं यत्किञ्चित् लालित्यं तत्सर्वं कैशिकीविजृम्भितम्** ।

pp. 20-21 Gaek. edn.

Thus according to Abhinava speech is Bhāratī, mental mood is Sāttvatī, both of these respectively referring to or comprehend-

1. Bhoja also says similarly that the four Vṛttis are the activities of mind, body and speech.

'मनोवाक्कायकर्मनिबन्धनाः पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति ।'

Śṛ. Pra. Vol. II, p. 459.

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ing realms of Vācikābhinaya and Sāttvikābhinaya, physical action or movements of the body are Ārabhaṭī and whatever action is beautiful is called Kaiśikī. We can at once see in this explanation how Kaiśikī stands apart from the rest as the name of a manner of doing or acting (*i.e.*) the beautiful and graceful way of doing or as the name of those situations that are characterised mainly by such beauty and grace. The other three Vṛttis are names of the things themselves (*i.e.*) speech or action, which is either mental or physical. To make the point clear, even speech and action, Bhāratī, Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī can be again qualified by Kaiśikī when they are graceful. Thus we can have graceful speech and graceful action. In the history of the Vṛttis, just as no writer has missed the essential idea of Bhāratī as speech, so also no writer has missed the essential idea that Kaiśikī is the name of the atmosphere of Śṛṅgāra, of graceful pleasantries, of scenes with many women, of music and dance. The idea in the legend of the Vedic origin of the Vṛttis that Kaiśikī was derived from the Sāmaveda is very significant. For from Sāmaveda was music derived. It is not denied that music can also be wild and helpful to Raudra even as it cannot be denied that women also get into furious moods. Though essentially Kaiśikī is the name of grace and delicacy wherever they are, it is pre-eminently present in the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, in songs of love and dances[1]. Thus speech or Bhāratī also may be graceful or terrible and there can be a कैशिकी–भारती in the exchange of sweet words between the lover and his beloved. The Sāttvatī, mental action, can be such emotions as are graceful in nature whereby we can have a कैशिकी–सात्वती. So also, taking for the present that Ārabhaṭī as Abhinava says is Kāya-Vṛtti (*i. e.*) physical action, it can be divided into the graceful and the terrible and the former can be called the कैशिकी–आरभटी. For as Abhinava says, wherever there is grace, wherever we have लालित्य and सौकुमार्य, we have the Kaiśikī.

We remarked in the begginning section of the paper that some held Pārvatī as the exponent of this Vṛtti. Bharata says

1. The Śabdakalpadruma says that, according to Śabdaratnāvali and Jaṭādhara, Kaiśika (mas. gen.) means Śṛṅgāra Rasa. The case is similar to that of the words 'Ujjvala' and 'Śuci' which are given by Bharata as descriptive of Śṛṅgāra but which in later times, in the Kośas, have become synonyms of Śṛṅgāra. (Amara. I. vii. 17).

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that originally there were only three Vṛttis, there being only male-actors (N. S. I. 41-56). The Kaiśikī could not be done by males. When there was a demand for it, the Apsaras-actresses were created as the exponents of it. Kaiśikī cannot be presented successfully by men alone. अशक्या पुरुषैः साधु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनाद्दते । Woman is all grace and through her beauty revealed itself. All her movements are by nature characteristically graceful. Man is characterised by vigour and force, and neither in his actions of male-parts nor of female-parts can Kaiśikī be enjoyed. So some interpretors of the legend of Brahmā having seen the Kaiśikī during Śiva's dance say that the real person who presented the Kaiśikī was Pārvatī and not Śiva. Between Śiva and Pārvatī, dance distinguishes itself into Tāṇḍava and Lāsya, the violent and the graceful types. Lāsya is Kaiśikī. But this does not mean that males could not present Kaiśikī at all. Abhinava refutes such an extreme position. He holds that Śiva himself presented the graceful Kaiśikī also[1]. It is in accordance with this, *viz.*, the possibility of perfect masters of the art being capable of the fine rendering of Kaiśikī also, that in the Vṛtti chapter Bharata makes Viṣṇu himself the author of the Kaiśikī also. And it is a well-known fact that our male Bharatācāryas, like the Chinese male-actors, are exquisite actors of feminine moods also. When this exception is granted we can safely emphasise that Kaiśikī is essentially the Vṛtti of women. Therefore it is that Bharata says in defining it—

या श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्यविशेषचित्रा स्त्रीसंयुता या बहुनृत्तगीता ।
कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ XXII. 47.

Now how did the graceful aspect come to be called Kaiśikī? The explanation given by Bharata as an organic part of his legend is that the word Kaiśikī must be derived from Keśa or hair. How does that derivation explain the concept? The story says

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1. Rājaśekhara's opinion agrees with Abhinava's. In the Prastāvanā to the Garbhanāṭaka called Sītāsvayaṁvara in Act III of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Kohala is made to say that Śiva himself depicted both Tāṇḍava and Lāsya to please Rāvaṇa at whose valour Śiva was pleased.

"——स्वपौरुषपरितोषितखण्डपरशुदर्शितलास्यताण्डवप्रपञ्चचतुरेण— "

But generally the view is as expressed by Kālidāsa,

'रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा',

that Śiva dances the Tāṇḍava while Pārvatī presents the Lāsya.

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that the Kaiśikī was born when with graceful movements of his hands Viṣṇu either tied his loosened locks or caught the demons by their hair. The former seems better. Abhinava, in the passage quoted above, adds that hair, though not doing any useful activity in man or woman, is yet necessary as that which gives beauty; and Kaiśikī is called so by adopting the name of hair-Keśa —as the Vṛtti of grace and beauty. Rāmacandra's ingenuity goes further. He says that those that have an abundance of hair are called Kaiśikas (*i.e.*) the women and the Vṛtti that has women prominently is called the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti.

'अतिशायिनः केशाः सन्त्यास्विति केशिकाः स्त्रियः । स्तनकेशवतीत्वं हि स्त्रीणां लक्षणम् । तत्प्रधानत्वात् तासामियं कैशिकी । N. D. p. 157.

Kallinātha adds that the tresses are soft and are made more beautiful by flowers that deck them. So the Vṛtti that is soft and beautiful, मृदु and विचित्र, is called as Kaiśikī after the the tresses—कैशिकम् ।

'यद्वा केशानां समूहः कैशिकम् । कैशिकवन्मृदुत्वात् सुमनोभिः विचित्रत्वाच्च कैशिकीयोगोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः ।' S. R. Vyā. VI.

But it is plain that to derive Kaiśikī from Keśa is as trifling and funny as deriving Bhāratī from Bhāra, both adopting the pinciple of अक्षरवर्णसाम्य.[1] The fact shows that Bharata himself did not know what that name meant or how the graceful situations came to be called by that name. Words like Kaiśikī became Rūḍhis and even while Bharata wrote many things were forgotten. Kallinātha quietly accepts Kaiśikī, at first, as a Rūḍhi, considering its derivations as not being good. 'अत्र कैशिकीशब्दो रूढो द्रष्टव्यः ।' I think some other derivation can be suggested for Kaiśikī. Bharata while speaking of the Dākṣiṇātya Pravṛtti, in the section on Pravṛtti in chapter XIV, says that the Dākṣiṇātyas are characterised in their habits by the Kaiśikī, being given to dance and music very much.

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1. The word occurs in music also. We have the Kaiśikī Niṣāda but here also the word is explained by Keśa or hair.

साधारणे कैशिकी ते केशाग्रवद् अणुत्वतः । S. R. I. p. 65.

There is also a Rāga called Kaiśika which Kālidāsa mentions in K. S. VIII, 85 and the Padmaprābhṛtaka Bhāṇa on p. 20.

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'तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुनृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-ललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।' p. 165. Kāśī. edn.

The chief people referred to as Dākṣiṇātyas are the Vaidarbhas. We know that in Dramaturgy and Poetics, the Vidarbha country was held to be the home of Mādhurya, Saukumārya etc.[1] We hear of a place called Krathakaiśika or a race of kings so called in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvaṁśa and the Mālavikāgnimitra. Krathakaiśika is the ancient capital of the Vidarbha country which is the home of grace and beauty. So I think the name of the graceful Vṛtti Kaiśikī is derived from Kaiśika or Krathakaiśika in Vidarbha.

What is Ārabhaṭī? Ārabhaṭa is 'an enterprising and courageous' man, a dare-devil. Accordingly Abhinava suggests that the Ārabhaṭī is the Vṛtti of such men and their action. So far he is correct. Bharata defines it thus—

अत ऊर्ध्वमुद्धतरसामारभटीं संप्रवक्ष्यामि ।
आरभटप्रायगुणा तथैव बहुवचनकपटा च ॥
दम्भानृतवचनवतीं त्वारभटीं नाम विज्ञेया ।
प्रस्तावपातप्लुतलङ्घितानि चान्यानि मायाकृतमिन्द्रजालम् ।
चित्राणि युद्धानि च यत्र नित्यं तां तादृशीमारभटीं वदन्ति ॥

XXII. 55-57.

From this description of the Arabhaṭī as also of its Aṅgas,[2] we clearly see that it is the Vṛtti of force and violence, of the scenes of anger, fight etc., and of persons who belong to the type called Dhīroddhata. So it is that Bharata laterly also says that it is the Vṛtti of the Raudra, the Bībhatsa and the Bhayānaka Rasas.

भयानके च बीभत्से रौद्रे चारभटी भवेत् ।

It is also the Vṛtti of such characters as Hanumān and of their actions like the jumping over the sea. It is the Vṛtti preeminently of the Rākṣasas and Asuras who are by nature Uddhata, violent, haughty and wild. They indulge in cunning and deceitful warfare creating Māyā. Though Bharata mentions

1. cf. Daṇḍin's Vaidarbhī-Rīti and the Dākṣiṇātyas. *Vide* Rājaśekhara, K. M. I. 3. p. 10.

2. *Vide* N. S. XXII. 59-63.

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Adbhuta as a Bhāratī-Rasa, his mention of Māyā and Indrajāla here point out that such scenes as in the end of the Ratnāvalī having Indrajāla are really Ārabhaṭī.

From the foregoing, we clearly see how Ārabhaṭī is exactly the opposite of Kaiśikī. The essential characteristic of Ārabhaṭī in all the given instances of it seems to be औद्धत्य whereas that of Kaiśikī, as pointed out previously, is लालित्य. We already saw how Kaiśikī is the name of a manner and not of a thing. Bhāratī is the name of a thing. In a classification only one principle can operate at a time. Thus the realm of Nāṭya has first to be distinguished into the two things called speech and action. Both of them have again to be classified from another point of view. If they are graceful, they belong to the Kaiśikī class and if they are forceful, wonderful, awful or terrible they are called Ārabhaṭī. Therefore Ārabhaṭī must be placed on a par with Kaiśikī as a manner of either speaking or acting. Therefore to call it as कायवृत्ति is not to explain it correctly. By calling it as कायवृत्ति or physical action Abhinava forgets that within a classification no two different principles can operate, that the essential nature of Ārabhaṭī is Auddhatya and that it is not exactly all physical action, but only all cases of Auddhatya applicable to Kāya or Manas or Vāk. If this is fully grasped as the exact nature of Ārabhaṭī one can lay the emphasis on those cases of violent action as are clearly perceptible, *viz.*, the bodily actions कायचेष्टा—only. Thus Ārabhaṭī is the Vṛtti of Śiva or Rudra and his Tāṇḍava as distinguished from the Lāsya of Pārvatī, the exponent of Kaiśikī.

उद्धतैः करणैरङ्गहारैर्निर्वर्तितं यदा ।
वृत्तिरारभटी गीतकाले तत्ताण्डवं त्रिधा ॥
ललितैरङ्गहारैश्च निर्वर्त्यं ललितैर्लयैः ।
वृत्तिः स्यात् कैशिकी गीते यत्र तल्लास्यमुच्यते ॥

Śāradātanaya, Bhā. Pra. II, pp. 45 and 46.

It is also significant in this connection to derive, as the legend does, the Ārabhaṭī from the Atharva-Veda which contains Magic, Ābhicāra etc.

The nature of Sāttvatī is not very clear. Sattva means Manas and has been so interpreted in explaining the name Sāttvikābhi-

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naya also. To this word Sattva meaning Manas or mind is the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti related by Abhinava.

'मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती ।'

That it is intelligible to some extent to call all situations having subtle emotional acting as Sāttvatī-Vṛtti was already shown by me. In that case there will be little meaning in mentioning as its Rasas only the Vīra, the Raudra and the Adbhuta.

सात्त्वती नाम सा ज्ञेया वीररौद्राद्भुताश्रया । XXII. 65.

What are the ideas about this Vṛtti which we gather from the description of it as given by Bharata ?

या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च ।
हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा सा सात्त्वती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥
वागङ्गाभिनयवती सत्त्वोत्थानवचनप्रकरणेषु ।
सत्त्वाधिकारयुक्तो (क्ता) विज्ञेया सात्त्वती वृत्तिः ॥
वीराद्भुतरौद्ररसा विज्ञेया ह्यल्पकरुणशृङ्गारा ।
उद्धतपुरुषप्राया परस्पराधर्षणकृता च ॥ XXII. 38-40.

It has been already shown that drama falls into speech and action and that the former is Bhāratī. It has also been pointed out that, from another point of view drama falls into the graceful and the forceful, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The scope of Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī exactly correspond to that of the two Guṇas, Mādhurya and Ojas respectively. The realm of action must then be taken as the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti. This will agree with the legendary origin of the Sāttvatī from the Yajur-Veda from which is derived all action, Abhinaya. In such a case Sattva which means exactly only the Sāttvikābhinaya must be taken as Upalakṣaṇa or indication for all action in general, including the Āṅgika. This is the simple and scientific reconstruction of the significance of the Sāttvatī. But Bharata's description of it presents problems. Its description gives us the idea that it is also a Vṛtti of fight and forceful action. Bharata actually says that it is उद्धतपुरुषप्राया and gives Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta as its Rasas. Further he says that it comprises of not only physical action but also speech—वागङ्गाभिनयवती. Then wherein does its difference from Ārabhaṭī lie? Perhaps in the bit—न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च । Sāttvatī refers only to the lawful fight done on straightforward lines whereas Ārabhaṭī is

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the same fight done deceitfully— अन्यायवृत्तेन.[1] For in the definition of the Ārabhaṭī we find the mention of कपट, दम्भ, अनृतवचन, माया and such methods of wrong warfare. This idea of Nyāya or righteousness characterising the activities coming under Sāttvatī perhaps suggested another derivation for that name to Bharata, and led him to describe the Sāttvatī further thus: हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा, 'full of bliss and devoid of all sorrow.' This idea of Sāttvatī as being the Vṛtti of bliss and absence of sorrow is due to the word Sattva, originally taken as Manas, being again taken to mean the concept of Sattva-guṇa in philosophy. Therefore it is that Abhinava finds it possible to say that Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of the first type of hero called Dhīrodātta, whose heroism is righteous (*i.e.*) who is a धर्मयुद्धवीर or a सत्यपराक्रम like Rāma. (*Vide* Locana. p. 138.) So it is again that Abhinava finds it easy to say that the Vṛtti of the Śānta-Rasa is Sāttvatī. 'शान्ते तु सात्वत्येव वृत्तिरिति * * ।' Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. edn. p. 343.

Thus as indicating either Sāttvikābhinaya or sorrowless states of joy, Sāttvatī must be derived from the word Sattva meaning Manas or mind or the Sattva-guṇa. In both cases what we must have is not Sāttvatī but Sāttvikī, which form later writers like Bhoja in his Śṛ. Pra. conveniently adopt. Both derivations seem far-fetched. An examination of Sāttvatī and its varieties as shown by Bharata leads us to the conclusion that it is also a Vṛtti of fight. It is said to have many forms, उत्थापकः, परिवर्तकः, सँल्लापकः, and सङ्घातः. All these four are names of the actions in a pugilistic duel, a Mallayuddha. Utthāpaka[2] is the words of one Malla to another 'I will rise up; you also rise up again and we shall again fight' or 'I am ready; rise and show your strength.' Parivartaka is not clearly defined by Bharata. Perhaps it is the two fighters coming round and round or moving about in their fight. Sallapāka is said to be the mutual exchange of taunting words. The last which is not also clear in Bharata's definition is perhaps the fall of one fighter and the blow the other gives him. These show clearly that to begin with Sāttvatī was the Vṛtti in a Malla-

1. Perhaps it is from here, from this bit in Bharata—न्यायेन वृत्तेन etc. that Udbhaṭa takes the suggestion and develops the idea of two main classes of Vṛtti as Nyāya and Anyāya referring to success and failure in the hero and villain respectively. This shall be further dealt with ahead.

2. *Vide* N. S, XXII, 41-45.

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yuddha. Or it may have been a duel with some weapon. For we are led to infer so from the word Nyāya, which must not in this connection be taken as righteousness but as the technical Paribhāṣā of the dramatic world meaning the 'wielding of arms', शस्त्रमोक्षः. There are many points of evidence helping us in an enquiry in this direction. Drama must have risen originally as part of festivals. We are told by Bharata that the first drama, Asuravijaya, was staged during the festival of Indra's flag, the Indradhvaja.[1] The drama, a Samavakāra, was full of fight: संफेटविद्रवकृता छेद्यभेद्याहवात्मिका. It was thus both in the Sāttvatī and the Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. In chapters one to five we find that the Indradhvaja called Jarjara and its worship form part of the Pūrvaraṅga to be done before the beginning of all dramas. This shows that originally drama started as an item in the flag-festival of Indra and when it outgrew it, the flag-festival itself stuck to drama as necessary for warding off obstacles etc. The festival of Indra's flag[2] was perhaps simply an installation of the beautiful

1. N. S. I, 54-59.

2. The Indradhvaja is heard of in the Rāmāyaṇa often. It appears in Aśvaghoṣa's B. C. and occurs once in Kālidāsa, R. V. IV. The Indradhvaja or Jarjara seems to live in ancient Tamil dance. Is it that which is associated there with Indra's son Jayanta and is called Talaikkōl (தலைக்கோல்)? Indra's festival also is seen in Tamil. *Vide* Śilappadikāram, V. Some interesting item in the festival is mentioned in the Mṛcchakaṭika, V, p. 20. 'अरे, त्वमपि इदानीम् इन्द्रमहकामुक इव सुष्ठु काकायसे 'काका' इति।'

Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, Chap. 64 gives the story of how this Śakramaha or Indra-festival originated. King Uparicara is given by Indra a Vaijayantī Mālā and a Yaṣṭi, pole, which pole represented Indra. The pole of Indra is planted and worshipped in the Mārgaśirṣa month. Its height is given as 32 Kiṣkus or Hastas, that is, 48 ft. (द्वात्रिंशत्किष्कुसंमितां) but to suit the stage perhaps Bharata makes its height into 103 inches or 9 ft. (प्रमाणतोऽङ्गुलानां तु शतमष्टोत्तरं भवेत्। N. S. XXIII, 167.) Among many things enjoyed during this festival, the M. Bhā. mentions recitals, songs and performances by Naṭas and Nartakas.

दृतिभिः सजलैः सर्वे क्रीडित्वा नृपशासनात्।
सभाजयित्वा राजानं कृत्वा चर्माश्रयाः कथाः॥
रमन्ते नागराः सर्वे तदा जानपदैः सह।
सूताश्च मागधाश्चैव रमन्ते नटनर्तकाः॥
× × × × एवं जानपदाः सर्वे चक्रुरिन्द्रमहं तथा॥

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flag of Indra, its propitiation, feast and rejoicings, and a large programme of pugilistic and other shows of fight perhaps terminating in a simple acting of the fight between Indra and his followers with the Asuras. The whole of this Indradhvaja festival laterly became attached to drama as its Pūrvaraṅga, not only the Indradhvaja and its worship but also fight. Says Bharata in chapter three that the Pūrvaraṅga consists of fights also.

क्ष्वेडितैः स्फोटितैश्चैव वल्गितैश्च प्रधावितैः ।
रङ्गमध्ये तु तां दीप्तां सशब्दां संप्रयोजयेत् ॥
शङ्खदुन्दुभिनिर्घोषैः मृदङ्गपणवैस्तथा ।
सर्वातोद्यैः प्रणदितैः रङ्गयुद्धानि कारयेत् ॥
तत्र च्छिन्नं च भिन्नं च दारितं च सशोणितम् ।
क्षतं प्रदीप्तमायस्तं निमित्तं सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥ III. 93-95.

The Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī arose here. The latter is the name of the actions of the dare-devil fighters—Ārabhaṭas and the former the name of a race of fighters called the Sāttvatas. Additional support for such a conjecture comes from the legend in chapter XXII, which derives all the four Vṛttis from a fight. There we are told that Brahmā said on seeing Viṣṇu's vanquishing of the demons, that such fight as Viṣṇu did should hence forward be known as Nyāya. It was to refer not only to ordinary fight but more especially to fight with arms also.

उक्तवांस्तु तदा ब्रह्मा नारायणमरिन्दमम् ॥
अहो विचित्रैर्विशदैः स्फुटैः सुललितैरपि ।
अङ्गहारैः कृतं देव त्वया दानवनाशनम् ॥
तस्मादयं सर्वलोके नियुद्धसमयक्रमः ।
सर्वशस्त्रविमोक्षेषु न्यायसंज्ञो भविष्यति ॥
न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।
यस्माद्युद्धं कृतं ह्येतत् तस्मान्न्यायः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ XXII. 16-19.

Thus fight with and without arms but more especially with arms was being called Nyāya. This Nyāya was perhaps an entertainment in the ancient festival of Indra's flag. From it, as depicting the fight between Devas and Asuras, Drama might

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have grown[1]. It is to this Nyāya that Bharata refers to in his definition of the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti: न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च. In this Nyāya or fight-shows of the ancient Indian Indradhvaja festival many people from many parts of the country took part, many people such as the Bhāratas, the Kaiśikas and the Sāttvatas and also another class of very brave fighters called the Ārabhaṭas. Evidence for this conclusion is available in Bharata's text itself. We suggested before that Bharatas may refer to the Vedic tribe of that name and Kaiśikī to the inhabitants of Krathakaiśika. The name Sāttvata also similarly refers to a race of people whom we know. It is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's race. In chapter eleven called Cārīvidhāna Bharata says that in respect of acting with or using arms by the actors on the stage, there are four methods. He says :—

नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षो हि कार्योऽनेन प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
न्यायाश्चैव हि विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारः शस्त्रमोक्षणे ॥
भारतः सात्त्वतश्चैव वार्षगण्योऽथ कैशिकः ।
भरते तु कटीच्छेदं पादच्छेदं तु सात्त्वते ॥
वक्षसो वार्षगण्ये तु शिरश्छेद्यं तु कैशिके ।
एभिः प्रयोक्तृभिर्न्यायैर्नानाचारीसमुत्थितैः ॥
प्रविचार्य प्रयोक्तव्यो नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षणे ।
न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।
यस्माद्युद्धानि नीयन्ते तस्मन्न्यायाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ XI. 70-74.

Here we are given four Nyāyas or methods of throwing or wielding weapons, the Bhārata, the Sāttvata, the Kaiśika and Vārṣagaṇya. The last perhaps corresponds to the Ārabhaṭas. The Bhāratas wielded their weapons in a certain method with a certain characteristic bodily movement and others in other methods. The Nyāya applicable narrowly or rather originally to methods of wielding weapon might have developed into the more comprehensive methods or mannners or ways of acting called Vṛttis and the names Bhārata, Kaiśika and Sāttvata might have been taken from Nyāya to Vṛtti. It is the Sāttvata style that

1. The name of Stage, Raṅga points to the same conclusion. For Raṅga and Prekṣāgṛha mean not only Stage and Theatre but also Arena and Amphitheatre where shows of fight etc., are shown. *See* M. Bhārata, Ā. p. Chap. 144, Śls. 8—12 for the construction of the Raṅgabhūmi and Prekṣāgṛha.

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is meant when Bharata says in his definition of the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti, 'या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता'. The Kaiśika way of Nyāya was perhaps graceful and from such ideas the concept of Vṛtti might have developed.[1]

The Vṛttyaṅgas

The Vṛttyaṅgas are not to be taken as Aṅgas but as Bhedas (*i.e.*) varieties of the Vṛttis. That is, by the Aṅgas of the Vṛttis given by him, Bharata means to show some instances of the Vṛttis through which the Vṛttis must exhibit or elaborate themselves. Therefore their number as given by Bharata is not final and is only indicative of similar possible varieties. In this respect

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1. *a.* Arjunavarmadeva refers to these Nyāyas, numbered as five Kaiśika, etc., as treated of in the science of the bow, while commenting on Amaruśataka, Śl. 1—

"—कैशिकप्रमुखपञ्चन्यायेषु कश्चायं न्यायः इत्यादिशरासनशास्त्रचर्चा क्रियते।"

Hariharacaturaṅga, a treatise on the four units of an army, on missles and war, written by Godāvara miśra, minister and courtpoet of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa, describes five Nyāyas in the fifth chap. on Dhanus.

कैशिकः पार्षतश्चैव भरतश्छन्न एव च।
सात्त्विकश्चेति निर्दिष्टाः पञ्च व्या(न्या)याः समासतः॥

etc., pp. 213—214. Ms. of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library. This work calls the Sāttvata as Sāttvika, leaves out the Vārṣagaṇya mentioned by Bharata and has two new Nyāyas, Pārṣata and Channa. The descriptions of these also differ. They are said to be, in general, five different ways of drawing the bowstring and shooting an arrow. The Śivatattvaratnākara of Basavappa, perhaps indebted to the Hariharacaturaṅga also, gives the five Nyāyas as Kaiśika, Sāttvika, Bharata, Vatsakarṇa which is a corruption of Bharata's Vārṣagaṇya and Skandha which is perhaps the same as the Channa of H. H. C.

कैशिकः केशमूले च शिरः शृङ्गे च सात्त्विकः।
श्रवणे वत्सकर्णश्च ग्रीवायां भरतो भवेत्॥
अंश(स)के स्कन्धनामा च व्या(न्या)याः पञ्च प्रकीर्तिताः॥ etc.

S. T. R. VIII, ii, 97—99.

b. Sāhitya Sāra of Sarveśvara (a MS in the Mad. oriental Mss. library) easily solves the problem of the names of the four Vṛttis by creating four sons of Brahmā named Bharata etc., after whom the 4 Vṛttis are named!

चत्वारो ब्रह्मणः पुत्राः नटास्तु भरतादयः।
येषां नामभिरेवैताः चतस्रो वृत्तयः स्मृताः॥ Śls. 22-23.

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the Vṛttyaṅgas resemble the Sandhyaṅgas which indicate so many possible points in the unfoldment of a story or action. It is said that the Kaiśikī's Aṅgas are Narma, Narmasphiñja, Narmasphoṭa and Narmagarbha. It is not that Kaiśikī is only of these four varieties. It is foolish to stick to either the Vṛttyaṅgas or Sandhyaṅgas as exactly given by Bharata, and try to illustrate them in a few cherished examples like the Mudrārākṣasa, etc. The subject of Sandhi-Sandhyaṅgas emphasises the need for a well-knit plot, in which each detail will be quite necessary for the development of the plot and Rasa and no wayward detail, futile for Rasa, will intrude. The essential and live principle of Aucitya underlying the analysis of Bharata of Sandhis and Vṛttis into Aṅgas must be grasped. Taking a Śṛṅgāra story one knows how it has some never-changing and fundamental aspects which must appear in whatever plot one invents. One cannot but avoid those points along which only the plot must develop. So also the Vṛtti which is the very temper of the Rasa or action cannot change. The atmosphere of love-drama has certain never changing features. A Śṛṅgāra story is always delicate and graceful and is always in the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. Certain kinds of delicate and graceful situations cannot be avoided and through them the story and its Vṛtti must unfold themselves. The Vṛtti cannot present itself except through the varieties of it called its Aṅgas. The Vṛtti is an embodiment of its Aṅgas. The essential nature of Śṛṅgāra is Narma and Bharata gives four examples of it. Similarly the Ārabhaṭī unfolds itself in the shape of a number of incidents like Saṅkṣiptaka, Avaghāta, Vastūtthāpana and Sampheṭa. So it is that Bharata says that the Aṅgas are the 'Bhedas' of the Vṛttis.

The Vṛttis in relation to the Rasas and types of Drama.

As we have seen to some extent above, Bharata destributes the eight Rasas among the four Vṛttis. He gives (XXII, 64-68) that Śṛṅgāra and Hāsya are Kaiśikī, Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta are Sāttvatī, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Raudra are Ārabhaṭī and Karuṇa and Adbhuta are Bhāratī. In this distribution we have to bear in mind firstly that it is not proper to say that the poet should add a certain Vṛtti if the Rasa is such and such. It must be said that a certain Rasa is a certain Vṛtti or is in a certain Vṛtti or has that Vṛtti. That is, Śṛṅgāra is of a soft, delicate and graceful nature (*i.e.*) is Kaiśikī; Raudra is wild and ferocious (*i.e.*) is Ārabhaṭī. Another point to be noted is that the distribution of Rasas among the Vṛttis is not quite scientific as

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given by Bharata. Everybody has recognised that Bhāratī which is speech is present everywhere. So there is no meaning in mentioning it as the Vṛtti of Karuṇa and Adbhuta. It is the Vṛtti of all Rasas. Without it we have only a dumb show. Having thus separated Bhāratī, action in all the Rasas must again be called by the common name of Sāttvatī. Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of action of not only Sāttvika-Bhāvas but of all Bhāvas. Thus, as in the case of the Bhāratī, there can be no drama without Sāttvatī. Without it we have only a reading or recital. Then the eight Rasas and action or speech in them must be classified into Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The division will be like that of all dance into Lāsya and Tāṇḍava and like that of Guṇa into Mādhurya and Ojas. The qualities of लालित्य, delicateness and grace and औद्धत्य force and violent nature separate the Rasas into two sets. At the extremities stand the Śṛṅgāra and the Raudra Rasas as the culmination of Lālitya or Mādhurya and Auddhatya or Ojas respectively. The other Rasas according to the circumstances will have, in a less marked degree, the preponderance of Kaiśikī or Ārabhaṭī. Thus, Vīra, Adbhuta, Bībhatsa and Bhayānaka may tend to class themselves with the Uddhata-Rasa called Raudra. Hāsya may move towards Śṛṅgāra, the Lalita-Rasa. Karuṇa, as extremely delicate and approaching the nature of the Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra will only be a Kaiśikī-Rasa. Just as dance on the same basis of Lālitya and Auddhatya gets differentiated into Lāsya and Tāṇḍava, so also the Rūpakas numbering ten get distinguished into the Lalita and the Uddhata. Bharata, as we saw above, gave the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa as the perfect and full dramas which alone can have Kaiśikī as the predominant Vṛtti. That is, a full and sufficiently big love story can only be handled in the form of either a Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa. This does not rule out, as Abhinava has said, the presence of the love-element in the other eight minor dramas. Even as the largest amount of Kaiśikī can be seen only in a Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa the largest amount of Ārabhaṭī can be seen only in the types, Ḍima, Vyāyoga and Samavakāra. Elsewhere Bharata gives a distinction of the Daśarūpa into two such classes on the basis of this Kaiśikī or Lālitya and Ārabhaṭī or Auddhatya. The two classes of dramas are called Sukumāra and Uddhata or Aviddha.

प्रयोगो द्विविधश्चैव विज्ञेयो नाटकाश्रयः ।
सुकुमारस्तथाविद्धो नाट्ययुक्तिसमाश्रयः ॥

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यत्त्वाविद्धाङ्गहारं तत् छेद्यभेद्याहवात्मकम् ।
मायेन्द्रजालबहुलं पुंसो (पुस्त) नेपथ्यसंयुतम् ॥
पुरुषैर्बहुभिर्युक्तम् अल्पस्त्रीकं[1] तथैव च ।
सात्त्वत्यारभटीयुक्तं नाट्यमाविद्धसंज्ञितम् ॥
डिमः समवकारश्च व्यायोगेहामृगौ तथा ।
एतान्याविद्धसंज्ञानि विज्ञेयानि प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥
उद्धता ये च पुरुषाः शौर्यवीर्यबलान्विताः ॥
नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणो वीथ्यङ्कनाटिके(काः) ।
कुसुमारप्रयोगानि मानुषेष्वाश्रितानि तु ॥ XIV. 57-62.

Thus the Kaiśikī and the Ārabhaṭī on the one hand and the Bhāratī and the Sāttvatī on the other, are two sets of two Vṛttis. The latter set need not be held. For without either speech or action there can be no drama. Rāmacandra realises this as regards at least the Bhāratī. He says of the Bhāratī that it is 'सर्वरूपकगामिनी'. N. D. II. 104. He adds:

'सर्वरूपकभावित्वात्, रसानां च वाग्जन्यत्वात् सर्वरसात्मकत्वम् ।
* * * भारतीरूपत्वात् व्यापारस्य भारतीति ।'[2]

Similarly there can also be no drama without action or Sāttvatī. So we can leave these two apart which are involved in the very idea of drama. The other two are two essential manners of speaking or acting. There is always a possibility of dividing drama, both speech as well as action, as shown above, into two Vṛttis, the Sukumāra or Lalita or Kaiśikī and the Uddhata, Āviddha or Ārabhaṭī. When this is accepted, it will be seen

1. 'अल्पस्त्रीकम्' shows that these dramas of the Āviddha type have few women (*i.e.*) a minimum of Kaiśikī. Abhinava says while commenting upon a corresponding idea 'स्त्रीवर्जिता' in the definition of Bhāratī: 'स्त्रीवर्जितेति कैशिकीप्राधान्यं शमयति ।' Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, p. 6.

2. No writer, in later times also, has missed the idea that Bhāratī is speech. So Rājaśekhara, is entirely wrong in associating it with dance and instrumental music: 'यदपरं नृत्तवाद्यादिकं सा चक्रे सा भारतीवृत्तिः'। K. M. p. 8. Rājaśekhara, as also all later writers, had no clear grasp of the Sāttvatī. Though we have no access to the section on Vṛtti in his work, he treats of it in I.3 to some extent, clubbing it together with प्रवृत्ति and रीति. From here we also see how the concept of Rīti must have had its origin in Pravṛtti.

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that there is Kaiśikī in Bhāratī and Sāttvatī and that Ārabhaṭī also is in them. This is sufficiently realised by Kallinātha who says that Kaiśikī appears in all the Abhinayas, वाचिक, सात्त्विक and कायिक or आङ्गिक. Śārṅgadeva also realises this and says that Kaiśikī is the very essence of beauty and grace and as such appears in speech, in mind and in body. He adds also that it can be in the fourth, Āhārya Abhinaya also, *viz.*, dress and ornament. For there is a delicate and beautiful dress as contrasted with the dress of warfare and fight. In the definition of the Kaiśikī, Bharata himself includes the dress: या श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्य etc. and कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या। Śārṅgadeva says :—

वागङ्गाभरणानां या सौकुमार्येण निर्मिता।
उल्लसद्गीतनृत्ताढ्या शृङ्गाररसनिर्भरा॥
निःशङ्कः कैशिकीं ब्रूते तां सौन्दर्यैकजीविताम्।

So it is perfectly logical for Kohala to say, as we have said above, that this Saukumārya of Kaiśikī exits in Karuṇa-Rasa also. Though Bharata did not say so, Kohala is scientific when he says so; but Abhinava says that he himself has to follow Bharata.

"यत्तु 'शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरिह(णेष्विह) कैशिकी स्यात्।' इति कोहलेनोक्तं तन्मुनिमतविरोधादुपेक्ष्यमेव। तस्य तु यत्र यत्र अनुल्बणा चित्तवृत्तिः सा सा कैशिकी' इत्यादयः।" Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 481.

Therefore, really speaking, the Vṛttis are only two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. Perhaps some discerning writer held such a view of Vṛttis being only two in number. For Abhinava refutes a view holding only two Vṛttis, as will be seen in a further section of this paper.

Though Bharata ruled that certain Vṛttis are in certain Rasas and in certain dramas, he was aware of the fact that dramatic action was complex. Even as he could not prohibit any Rasa coming up in a subsidiary theme in a drama which he has given as one of Śṛṅgāra or Vīra, so also he could not prohibit in a drama of Kaiśikī the appearance of all other Vṛttis also or in the dramas not having the Kaiśikī as their main Vṛtti, its appearance in a small measure. He says that he knows this and that if he lays down any rule it is on the basis of the law of prominence.

न ह्येकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः।
भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिर्वृत्तिरेव वा॥
सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्बहु।

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स मन्तव्यो रसः स्थायी शेषाः सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥ XXII. 67-68.

Says Abhinava also—

'अथासां परस्परं सङ्कीर्णतया लक्ष्ये वहन्तीनां यत्र यत् प्राधान्येन * * * * इत्यन्योऽयं संवलितवृत्तयः, केवलं क्वचित् किञ्चिदधिकम् इति प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशः ।'

Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

Therefore it is that to name the Vṛtti of the complex texture of the drama as a whole, Bhoja, as will be seen presently, creates in his Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa a fifth Vṛtti of the mixture of all the four called the Miśra-Vṛtti. And Śiṅgabhūpāla refutes this fifth Miśra-Vṛtti of Bhoja as unnecesary because, we can always find out the one predominant Vṛtti of a drama and name the drama after that Vṛtti even as we find out the dominant Rasa of the play in a world of Bhāvas and minor Rasas. Rāmacandra also realises like Abhinava that dramatic action as a whole is complex and is of the nature of all the Vṛttis.

"चतस्र इति चतुर्भेदत्वम् अन्यतमचेष्टांशप्राधान्यविवक्षया । अपरथा अनेकव्यापारसंवलितमेव वृत्तितत्त्वम् । न नाम प्रबन्धेषु व्यापारान्तरासंवलितः कोऽप्येकाकी कायिको वाचिको मानसो वा व्यापारो लक्ष्यते ॥ "[1]

N. D. p. 152.

The Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis.

Pravṛtti is the concept in Bharata standing for provincial manners, a study of which is necessary for the perfection of imitation which is Nāṭya. It is the habits, peculiar attributes, characteristic dress etc. of the people of various places.

अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मादिति ? उच्यते ; पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषाचारवार्ताः ख्यापयतीति प्रवृत्तिः । N. S. XIV. Kāśī. edn. p. 165.

The concept of Vṛtti is closely allied with this Pravṛtti. For Vṛtti is a cetain mode of behaviour, and it also varies with places. Thus the inhabitants of one place may be always given to

1. It is perhaps realising this complex nature of Dramatic texture and the possibility of any Bhāva coming up as accessory, that Śārṅgadeva says that what is called Kaiśikī, the Vṛtti of Saukumārya and Saundarya can also appear in Raudra : सौन्दर्यसौकुमार्याभ्यां रौद्रादावप्यसौ भवेत् । One however need not go so far as to confuse.

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pleasure, to singing, dancing, gaiety etc., while those of an other place may always be, in whatever they do, violent and ferocious. The mountain tribes, the Rākṣasas etc. may belong to the latter class, to rabhaṭī. Bharata says that the southerners, the Dākṣiṇātyas, belong to the former class, to Kaiśikī.

'तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुनृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुरललिताभिनयाश्च ।" N. S. XIV. p. 165.

The Pravṛtti of the southerners[1] is called Dākṣiṇātyā and it is distinguished by the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The next Pravṛtti is Āvantī and the people of that Pravṛtti spread over a certain number of provinces have not the Kaiśikī as their prominent Vṛtti but have it along with Sāttvatī. The third Pravṛtti is Auḍhra Māgadhī and the fourth, the Pāñcālī. The Pāñcālī is characterised by Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. The Vṛtti of the third is not given by Bharata. According to Bharata, the Dākṣiṇātyas comprise of almost all southern provinces, the Avantī-people, of almost all western provinces, the Auḍhramāgadhī, of almost all eastern provinces and the Pāñcālī, of almost all northern provinces. Pravṛtti is mainly dress or the Āhāryābhinaya and as pointed out earlier, Vṛtti itself comprehends dress, etc.

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्य etc., and कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या ।

The Viṣṇudharmottara puts it well when it is says, (III Kha. 20):

वेषभाषानुकरणं तथाचारप्रवर्तनम् ।
प्रवृत्तिरिति विख्याता वृत्तीनामाश्रयास्तु ताः ॥

The principle of Aucitya underlying Pravṛtti is of great importance for Nāṭya. The details however, which might have had reality when Bharata wrote, do not exist to-day but one must accept that the dramatist and the actor must be conversant with the complete nature of the characters in their play. Says Bharata generally—

वर्षं च देशं चाप्यर्थयुक्तिं कालमवेक्ष्य च ॥
येषु देशेषु या पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिः परिकीर्तिता ।
तद्वृत्तिकानि रूपाणि तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ XIV. 53-54.

Rājaśekhara restricts Pravṛtti to the manner involved in dress only. He unites the three concepts of Pravṛtti, Vṛtti and

1. *Vide* N. S. XIV. Śls. 37-49. for the several provinces distributed among these four Pravṛttis and Vṛttis.

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Rīti and speaks of the provincial varieties of these three. Pravṛtti is the manner of dress, Vṛtti of behaviour or other details of habit etc., and Rīti is the manner of speech.

'तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।' K. M. I. 3.

The Vṛttis and the nature of the character (i.e.) type of hero.

In Bharata's definitions of the Kaiśikī, we found that it was given as the Vṛtti pre-eminently of women. It is not that there are not men of noble make whose actions are by nature graceful but it means that by nature all women are, as a rule, graceful in whatever they say or do. So their main Vṛtti is Kaiśikī. Therefore, even if they are angry, as in Raudra Rasa, their anger will be modified by Kaiśikī (*i.e.*) will not be so ferocious as that of men or of those who are by nature Uddhata or violent and forceful like the Rākṣasas. Similarly the Vṛtti of love, *viz.*, the Kaiśikī, when it appears in such characters as Rākṣasas, will be modified by their main characteristic of Ārabhaṭī.[1] Thus between these two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī, characters can be separated. Women and Dhīrodātta Nāyakas like Rāma are characters of Kaiśikī. The Rākṣasa men and women and the Dhīroddhata Nāyakas like Bhīma are characters of Ārabhaṭī. The Dhīralalita hero who is a king leading a pleasant life with song, dance and his queens— कलासक्तस्सुखी मृदुः, is essentially a character of the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The Dhīraśānta, who is a Brahmin generally, will mostly lean towards the Kaiśikī rather than to the other.

As regards the other two Vṛttis, Bhāratī and Sāttvatī, if we take them to mean speech and action, which alone they ought to mean, there can be no differentiation of characters on the basis of these two. Therefore, it is because Abhinava does not take these two scientifically as speech and action, that, in spite of what he has to say in future in his Abhinavabhāratī, says in his Locana that the four types of heroes belong respectively to the four Vṛttis.

"—इति चत्वारो नायकाः (धीरोदात्तधीरोद्धतधीर[illegible]तधीरशान्ताः) क्रमेण सात्त्वत्यारभटीकैशिकीभारतीलक्षणवृत्तिप्रधानाः ।" p. 138.

1. This subject in Bharata is called प्रकृति or प्रकृत्यौचित्यम्. cf. Ānandavardhana's Dhva. Ā. III. pp. 138 and 145-147.

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Abhinava would not have made (and he does not make) this naive equation of the four types of heroes with the four Vṛttis in his commentary on the N. S. where his study of the Nāṭyaśāstra has become profound. In this above equation, that between Kaiśikī and Dhīralalita and the Ārabhaṭī and the Dhīroddhata is correct. We cannot understand how the Dhīraśānta is connected with the Bhāratī or the Dhīrodātta with the Sāttvatī. Perhaps, if we accept the traditional derivation of Sāttvatī from Sattva, we can accept to some extent the equation between Sāttvatī and Dhīrodātta. But then, the Dhīraśānta must also have only Sāttvatī and in the Abhinavabhāratī, as noticed above, Abhinava gives the Vṛtti of the Śānta Rasa as the Sāttvatī.

Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, in chs-13 and 18-21 gives the following scheme :

Puruṣārtha	Nāyaka	Nāyikā	Vṛtti	Pravṛtti	Rīti
धर्मः	धीरोदात्तः	स्वीया	भारती	पौरस्त्या	पाञ्चाली
अर्थः	धीरोद्धतः	सर्वा स्त्री	आरभटी	उद्भ्रमागधी	गौडी
कामः	धीरललितः	सर्वा स्त्री	कैशिकी	दाक्षिणात्या	वैदर्भी
मोक्षः	धीरप्रशान्तः	स्वीया	सात्त्विकी	आवन्त्या	लाटीया

Much verbal ingenuity is of course employed by Bhoja in the explanation of this scheme.

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THE SOURCES OF TOLKĀPPIYAM.

BY

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Though it is accepted by everybody that the Tolkāppiyam is the most ancient work now existing in Tamil, there are divergent opinions among scholars as to the grammarians who preceded Tolkāppiyaṉār. One view is that there was only one grammar before Tolkāppiyaṉār, *viz.*, the Akattiyam and that Tolkāppiyaṉār was indebted to its author, the sage Agastya. This view is based upon the authority of the Pērāciriyam, a commentary on the Tolkāppiyam. The author of the Pērāciriyam himself cites in his favour the opinion of the Kaḷaviyalurai.[1] The Kaḷaviyalurai says that the grammar in the first Caṅkam was the Akattiyam and that in the second were the Akattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Icainuṇukkam, the Māpurāṇam and the Pūtapurāṇam. The above mentioned school of thought takes the stand on this passage in the Kaḷaviyalurai and says that since, among the grammars of the second Caṅkam, the Akattiyam alone is mentioned before the Tolkāppiyam, it should have been the only work which preceded the Tolkāppiyam. But it must be pointed out that the Kaḷaviyalurai does not seem to contemplate in this enumeration any chronological order and that it might have mentioned the works in the order of prominence or merit. The Kaḷaviyalurai does not definitely say that the Akattiyam is the only source of the Tolkāppiyam. Pērāciriyar's view that the Akattiyam is the only predecessor and source of the Tolkāppiyam seems to be untenable, for there are evidences to show that many works, grammatical and otherwise, Tamil and Sanskrit,

1. T.K. Bhavanandam Pillai pp. 591-3 I.A.P. Bhavanandam Pillai Edn. pp. 6 and 7, The Kaḷaviyal Sūtras are said to be written by Iṟaiyaṉār (Lord Śiva) and the commentary on them by Nakkīrar in the last Caṅkam. But there are reasons to doubt the authenticity of the authorship of these too. It seems that both the Sūtras and the commentary were written at a later date.

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preceded Tolkāppiyaṉār, and to which the Tolkāppiyam is indebted.

In the preface (pāyiram) to the Tolkāppiyam by Paṇampāraṉār we find the following line :—

முந்து நூல் கண்டு முறைப்பட எண்ணி

Iḷampūraṇar in his commentary which is the earliest we have explains the above line that Tolkāppiyaṉār studied the earlier grammars and summarised them in his work. He also refers to Nallāciriyar, *viz.*, Akattiyar and others who preceded Tolkāppiyar, but unfortunately he does not give the names of the grammarians.

Naccinārkkiniyar commenting on the above line says[1] that the grammars that preceded the Tolkāppiyam were the Akattiyam, the Māpurāṇam, the Pūtapurāṇam and the Icainuṇukkam and the subjects dealt with in these pre-Tolkāppiya works were Eḻuttu (எழுத்து), Col (சொல்), Poruḷ (பொருள்), Yāppu (யாப்பு), Cantam (சந்தம்), Vaḻakkiyal (வழக்கியல்), Araciyal (அரசியல்), Amaicciyal (அமைச்சியல்) Pārppaṉaviyal (பார்ப்பனவியல்), Cōtiṭam (சோதிடம்), Kāntaruvam (காந்தருவம்), Kūttu (கூத்து) etc., subjects which belong to grammar, Social, Political and Dharma Śāstras, Astrology, Music, Dance, and such varied branches of knowledge. Naccinārkkiniyar also cites an instance in the Eḻuttatikāram where a Tolkāppiyasūtra is based on a sūtra in the Māpurāṇam.

நீட்டம் வேண்டி னவ்வள புடைய
கூட்டி யெழுஉத லென்மனார் புலவர். (Tol. eḻu. 6.)

செய்யுட்க ளோசை சிதையுங்கா லீளப
மையப்பா டின்றி பணையுமா மைதீரொற்
றின்றியும் செய்யுட் கெடினெற்றை யுண்டாக்கு
குன்றுமேல் ஒற்றளபுங் கொள்.[2]

The Māpurāṇa sūtra allows the lengthening of sound for enphonic purposes to the extent of four mātras. Tolkāppiyam means the same by using the plural 'அவ்வளபுடைய.'

This evidence of Naccinārkkiniyar proves that the view of Pērāciriyar is untenable and that the list of the grammars of the

1. Ed. by Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing society p. 13 *vide* also Naccinārkkiniyar on Poruḷatikāram poruḷiyal Sūtras 3 and 23 pp. 783 and 812. Bavanandam Pillai Edn.

2. *See also* Naccinārkkiniyar on Tol. Eḻu. 6. (p. 20, Madura Tamil Caṅkam Edn.).

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second Caṅkam given in the Kaḷaviyalurai are not in chronological order. Further if the Akattiyam had been the only grammar before Tolkāppiyam, Paṉampāraṉār in his preface might have said 'முதநூல்கண்டு' (Mutaṉūlkaṇṭu) or அகத்தியம் கண்டு (Akattiyaṅkaṇṭu.)

Paṉampāranār again says—

'ஐந்திரம் நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன்'

From this it is clear that besides the works mentioned by Naccinārkkiniyar, the work known as Aintiram was also one of the grammars that preceded the Tolkāppiyam. It also seems that the Tolkāppiyam follows only the school of the Aindra grammar. The Aindra is accepted as a sanskrit grammar and Naccinārkkiniyar says (poruḷ-puṟattiṇai, 20) that as a contrast to the Nirukta which is a treatise on vedic grammar, the Aindra and works of its class are grammars for both Veda and Loka (*vaitikaccol* and *ulakiyaṟcol*). Though most writers say that the Tolkāppiyam follows the Aintiram, we do not have a regular indication in the commentaries of the points on which the Tolkāppiyam follows the Aintiram. There is however one solitary instance pointed out by Cēṉāvaraiyar in his commentary on the Collatikāram. In his commentary on the section on the instrumental case (pp. 84-85 Ed. of the Śaiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Soc.) Cēṉāvaraiyar has an interesting discusstion on the two suffixes of the instrumental case. Some argue that if there are two suffixes there must also be too corresponding cases. Cēṉāvaraiyar replies that this view is wrong, that however many the suffixes may be, the case is only one, if all the suffixes have the same meaning and that the same is the considered opinion of the sanskrit grammarians. The objector now says that Tolkāppiyam need not follow the sanskrit grammarians and as a matter of fact does not; for, while sanskrit grammar includes the vocative case in the nominative and recognises on the whole only seven cases, Tolkāppiyam counts the cases as eight, holding the vocative to be a separate case. Replying to this criticism Cēṉāvaraiyar points out that there is no denying the fact that Tolkāppiyam follows the sanskrit grammars, that all the schools of sanskrit grammar do not hold the cases as seven, and that even among them there was Indra who held the cases as eight in number, separately mentioning the vocative. He cites here a sūtra from the Akattiyam to show how Indra held the cases to be eight.

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எழியன் முறையது எதிர்முக வேற்றுமை
வேறென விளம்பான் பெயரது விகாரமென்
ரோதிய புலவ ளுழுளளெரு வகையான்
இந்திரன் எட்டாம் வேற்றுமை என்றனன்.

Explaining so the quotation from the Akattiyam, Cēṉāvaraiyar says that Tolkāppiyaṉār follows the Aindra with which the never disagrees. He adds that therefore the pāyiram says, 'Aintiram niṟainta Tolkāppiyar.'

Interpreting the above sūtra from the Akattiyam, the author of the Tamil Pirayōkavivēkam says that the Pulavaṉ referred to by Akattiyar as holding cases to be seven is Pāṇini. He also views that the Akattiyam follows the Pāṇinīyan School. Thus it is certain that the Tamil Grammars followed the Sanskrit Grammars and that according to the Pirayōkavivēka, not only was there before the Tolkāppiyaṉār, the Aindravyākaraṇa but also Pāṇinīya. In this connection, Civañāṉamuṉivar, though he accepts that both Akattiyar and Tolkāppiyar had read the Sanskrit Grammars, says that the Sanskrit Grammars cannot be held to be the source of Tamil Grammar. He points out that, as regards Sandhi Tiṇai, Kuṟiñci, Veṭci, etc., Tamil Grammar has rules which are all its own and cannot be derived from any sanskrit Grammar. But commentators have pointed out that Tiṇai etc. are Paribhāṣās invented by Akattiyar himself. The point must be further investigated. Though Tamil Grammar has certainly its own individuality and special features, it cannot be refuted that the Tamil Grammar was to some extent indebted to Sanskrit works, Grammatical and otherwise, as can also be seen further in the following paragraph.[1]

Coming to internal evidences in the Tolkāppiyam, the work refers in plural to earlier writers as புலவர் (6, 478, 483, 967). என்ப (643, 1010, 13, 84, 511) மொழிப (962, 1054) கிளவார் (523) அறிந்திசி னோரே (158) வரையார்(43, 45) உணர்ந்தோர் (7).

The plural numbers in the above words in the Tolkāppiyam point to the existence of many writers before that work. It may be argued that the work refers not to many writers but to one

1. Civañāṉamuṉivar requotes Pērāciriyam and following him holds the Akattiyam to be the only pre-Tolkāppiya Grammar. This cannot be accepted. Aracaṉ Ṣaṇmukaṉār in his Pāyiravirutti criticizes this view of Pērāciriyar and Civañāṉamuṉivar and agrees with our view which follows Naccinārkiniyar. *Vide* pp. 310 etc. of that work.

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only, *viz.*, Akattiyar and that the plural is used out of respect to Akattiyar. There is however a rule laid down by Tolkāppiyar himself that the honorific plural referring to one person or one object is allowed only in speech and not in poetry.

ஒருவரைக்கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
ஒன்றனைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
வழக்கி னெகிய உயர்சொற் கிளவி
இலக்கண மருங்கிற் சொல்லா றல்ல.

Therefore Tolkāppiyar who would not have deviated from his own rule must mean by the above plurals a number of writers that preceded him. Aracaṉ Ṣaṇmukaṉār also expresses this opinion in his Pāyirā-virutti.

(ii) Again as regards the number of cases, Tolkāppiyaṉār has two sūtras giving the two opinions referred to already.

வேற்றுமை தாமே ஏழென மொழிப. (Tol. Col. 62.)
விளிகொள் வதன்கண் விளியோ டெட்டே. (Tol. Col. 63.)

Here it appears that Tolkāppiyaṉār first speaks of the theory of others and then gives his own, as has been pointed out by Cēṉāvaraiyar. Teyvaccilaiyār also, though he takes the two Sūtras as one, points out that there is reference here to two different views. We have noted above, from evidence of Cēṉāvaraiyar that the two views here referred to are those of Akattiyar following Pāṇini and of the Aintiram followed by the Tolkāppiyam.

(iii) Thirdly, Tolkāppiyar refers in his sūtras to the following works :—

1. அந்தணர் மறை. (Tol. Eḻu. 102.)

This is evidently the Sanskrit Vēdas.

2. ஈரம்பின் மறைய. (Tol. Eḻu. 33.)

This is perhaps the Sanskrit Gāndharva Vēda dealing with music.

3. அறுவகைப் பட்டப் பார்ப்பனப் பக்கம். (Tol. Poruḷ 57.)

This is a reference to Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras.

Fourthly the following sūtras from Tolkāppiyam, Piṟappiyal and Moḻimarapu, clearly indicate that Tolkāppiyar was a Sanskrit scholar and that he translated or summarised in his work some of the ideas in the ancient Sanskrit grammatical literature like the Prātiśākhyas.[1]

1. The following quotations are reproduced from Dr. P. S Subrahmanya Sastriyar's preface to his Collatikāra-k-kuṟippu. Dr. P. S. S. Sastri has also pointed out that the Tolkāppiyam draws upon Yāska's Nirukta also.

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ககார ஙகார முதலு வண்ணம் (Tol. piṟa. 7.)
हनुमूले जिह्वामूलेन कवर्गे स्पर्शयति (Tai. pra. 2, 35.)
சகார ஞகார மிடைநா வண்ணம் (Tol. piṟa. 8.)
तालु जिह्वामूलेन चवर्गे (Tai. prā. 2, 36.)
அண்ண நண்ணிய பன்முதன் மருங்கி னுநுனி பாந்து மெய்யுற
வொற்றத் தாமினிது பிறக்குந் தகார நகாரம் (Tol. piṟa. 11.)
जिह्वाग्रेण तवर्गे दन्तमूलेषु (Tai. prā. 2, 38.)
दन्त्यानां जिह्वाग्रं प्रस्तीर्णम् (Ātharvaṇa. prā. 1-24.)
இதழியைந்து பகாரமகாரம் (Tol. piṟā. 15.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां पवर्गे (Tai. prā. 2, 39.)
பல்லித ழியைய வகாரம் பிறக்கும் (Tol. piṟa. 61.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां दन्तैर्वकारे (Tai. prā. 2, 43.)
சார்ந்துவரி னல்லது (Tol. piṟa. 19.)
ऽकऽपौ चापि पराश्रितौ. (pa. ci.)

In this connection attention may be drawn to a sūtra in the Tolkāppiyam which says that one of the ways of writing a derivative treatise (வழிநூல்) is to translate from a work of another language (Tol. Poruḷ. Marapiyal, 167).

In conclusion, as Naccinārkkiniyar has pointed out, there existed before the Tolkāppikam, the Akattiyam, the Icainuṇukkam, the Māpurāṇam and the Pūtapurāṇam. From the Pāyiram and Cēṉāvaraiyar we learn that besides drawing from the above said predecessors, the Tolkāppiyam followed also the Sanskrit grammar of the school of Indra. It we are to accept the Pirayōkavivēkam, Pāṇini is also one of Tolkāppiyar's predecessors and sources. From the text of the Tolkāppiyam itself we know of the existence of many earlier works and definite references are given to the Sanskrit Vēdas, Gāndharva-Vēda and the Dharma Śāstra literature, upon which also Tolkāppiyam drew. In addition to these Tolkāppiyaṉār embodied into his text translation of the ideas of the Sanskrit Prātiśākhyas and Nirukta. Therefore the contention that sage Agastya is the only predecessor and his work is the onlys source of the Tolkāppiyam cannot stand.

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PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS AS REVEALED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS

BY

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(Continued from page 414 of Vol. VI, pt. iv.)

Important amongst the various tints stated by Bāṇa are green, grey and brown. The varieties of each colour and their subtle differences are noteworthy. The peculiar Haritālaśaila white[1] is different from swan-white and lotus-white[2]. The colours of the Sinduvāra[3], Karṇikāra[4] and Campaka[5] are different patterns of white. Ivory-white is another[6]. Foam-white is a colour different from all these in a subtle shade and is identical with milk-white and conch-white[7]. The yellowish-white of the petals of the full-blown Ketakī is another variety.[8]

Red is of many types. Red like the Bandhūka flower,[9] the Kuṅkumapiñjara type of red[10], Kusumbharāgapāṭala,[11] blood-red like a bunch of Ghātakī flowers,[12] Sindūra (red) colour of the

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1. हरितालशैलावदातदेहः H. C. p. 188.
2. हंसधवला धरण्यामपतज्ज्योत्स्ना Kā.p . 96.
   हिमकरसरसि विकचपुण्डरीकसिते Kā. p. 96
3. अभिनवसितसिन्दुवारकुसुमपाण्डरैः Kā. p. 96.
4. कर्णिकारगौरेण व्यायामव्यायतवपुषा H. C. p. 69
   कर्णिकारगौरेण वीध्रकञ्चुकच्छन्नवपुषा H. C. p. 61.
5. बकुलसुरभिनिःश्वसितया चम्पकावदातया H. C. 33.
6. दन्तपाण्डरपादे शशिमय इव H. C. p. 70.
7. पीयूषफेनपटलपाण्डरम् H. C. p. 10.
   शङ्खक्षीरफेनपाण्डरेण क्षीरोदेनेव H. C. p. 21.
8. विकचकेतकीगर्भपत्रपाण्डरं रजःसङ्घातम् H. C. p. 20.
9. तस्य चाधरमणेर्दीधितयो विकसितबन्धूकवनराजयः H. C. p. 29.
10. कुङ्कुमपिञ्जरितपृष्ठस्य चरणयुगलस्य H. C. p .31.
11. कुसुम्भरागपाटलं पुलकबद्धचित्रम् H. C. p. 32.
12. रुधिरकुतूहलिकेसरिकिशोरकलिह्यमानकठोरघातकीस्तबके H. C. p. 47.

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Mandāra flowers,[1] Māñjiṣṭha red,[2] Piñjara (red) like the morning sunshine,[3] are all subtle varieties. The rosy colour of the dove's leg[4] is a noteworthy tint.

There are many varieties of green such as parrot-green of the colour of the plantain leaf[5], emerald-green,[6] and dark-green of the Tamāla type.[7]

There are different types of grey like the smoke colour[8], the colour of the ass's skin,[9] the grey of the dove[10], the grey of a pigeon's neck[11] and the colour of the Śaphara's belly.[12]

Varieties of brown are equally numerous. We have the Gorocanā brown,[13] yellowish brown,[14] brown of the red palm fruit,[15] of the camel's hair,[16] and of the Godhūma (wheat).[17]

Black is of various degrees and grades. There is the light black colour of the buffalo,[18] the darker shade on the face of the Golāṅgūla monkey,[19] and the pitch-dark night resembling the wing of the bird Cāṣa.[20]

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1. लोहितायमानमन्दारसिन्दूरसीम्नि H. C. p. 47.
2. माञ्जिष्ठरागलोहिते किरणजाले Kā. p. 53.
3. बालातपपिञ्जरा इव रजन्यः Kā. p. 105.
4. पारावतपादपाटलरागः Kā. p. 94.
5. शुकहरितैश्च कदलीवनैः Kā. p. 42. हारीतहरिता H. C. p. 22.
6. मरकतहरितानां कदलीवनानाम् Kā. p. 379.
7. तरुणतरतमालश्यामले H. C. p. 28.
8. कृष्णाजिनेन नीलपाण्डुभासा·····धूमपटलेनेव Kā. p. 72.
9. रासभरोमधूसरासु Kā. p. 52.
10. वनदेवताप्रासादनां तरूणां शिखरेषु पारावतमालायमानासु धर्मपताकास्विव समुन्मिषन्तीषु तपोवनाग्निहोत्रधूमलेखासु Kā. p. 52.
11. कपोतकण्ठकर्बुरे···तिमिरे H. C. p. 145.
12. शफरोदरधूसरे रजसि H. C. p. 21.
13. गोरोचनाकपिलद्युतिः Kā. p. 126.
14. हरितालकपिलपक्कवेणुविटपरचितवृतिभिः Kā. p. 393.
15. संध्यानुबन्धताम्रे परिणततालफलत्वक्त्विषि कालमेघमेदुरे H. C. p. 15.
16. धूसरीचक्रुः कमेलककचकपिलाः पांसुवृष्टयः H. C. p. 162.
17. गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैराधिष्ठितः H. C. p. 94.
18. जरन्महिषमषीमलीमसि तमसि H. C. p. 81.
19. गोलाङ्गूलकपोलकालकायलोम्नि नीलसिन्धुवारवर्णे वाजिनि H. C. p. 23.
20. चाषपक्षत्विषि तमस्युदिते H. C. p. 16.

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The versicoloured hue of flowers[1] made up of innumerable tints is one type of the variegated colour. A limited number of colours variegate the rainbow[2]. It is the same case with the mottled colour of the bean-seed[3]. Two tints, yellow and black account for the variegation in the tiger's skin;[4] and white and blue for that in the eyes.[5]

Bāṇa's knowledge of the infinite variety of colour in nature and his singling out the beautiful natural tints of flowers and fruits so often chosen with great delicacy by expert artists for the execution of excellent still-life compositions is remarkable. The parrot's beautiful description of the purple Jambū fruit with its bluish-red tinge resembling the eye of a ruddy cuckoo, of the pomegranate seed looking like a pearl dabbled in blood with its intermixture of red and white, and of the Āmalakī fruit green like the lotus leaf is quite pleasing.[6] There are some noteworthy paragraphs in Bāṇa's works wherein, colours, all from nature, play an important part. In one description he actually brings in the names of colours—yellowish-white, tawny (deep brown), brown, white etc., and though attempting pun by their use nevertheless gives the reader an idea of the multicoloured nature of the forest-fires[7]. In actual painting of flames an artist cannot but use these colours which are ample and exhaustive. Thus it is not mere pun but a deliberate use to give out the nature of the flame.

Elsewhere he gives us a picture of the colorific nature of the forest, not by the use of colour-names, but by a towering description of the myriad trees and creepers loaded with sprouts and

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1. आचमनशुचिशचीपतिमुच्यमानार्चनकुसुमनिकरशाराम् H. C. p. 19.
2. आभरणप्रभाजालजायमानानीन्द्रधनुःसहस्राणि H. C. p. 71.
3. पाकविशरारुराजमाषनिकरकिर्मीरितैश्च H. C. p. 94.
4. शबलशार्दूलचर्मपटपीडितेन H. C. p. 232.
5. तिर्यङ्नीलधवलांशुकशाराम् H. C. p. 79.
6. आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविर्नीलपाटलः कषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बूफलरसः, हरिनखरभिन्नमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भमुक्तरक्तार्द्रमुक्ताफलत्विषि खण्डितानि दाडिमीबीजानि, नलिनीदलहरिन्ति द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि च चूर्णितानि स्वेच्छया प्राचीनामलकीफलानि Kā. p. 36.
7. क्वचित् स्वच्छन्दतृणचारिणो हरिणाः, क्वचित्तरुतलविवरविधेर्तिनो बभ्रवः, क्वचिज्जटावलम्बिनः कपिलाः, क्वचिच्छकुनकुलकुलायपातिनः श्येनाः H. C. p. 50.

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blossoms.[1] The Karṇikāra flowers with an excellent yellowish colour (though lacking scent), the Campaka with its fragrant yellow flowers, the Nameru with its whitish flowers, the Kurabaka with its red flowers, the Kesara (Bakula) with its tawny flowers, the Aśoka with its vermilion flowers, the Tilaka tree with its peculiarly beautiful flowers, the lovely yellow Priyaṅgu creeper, the Mucukunda tree with its bark darkened with elephant's rut, the green verdure of the ground charmingly broken here and there by the spotted skin of the skipping deer, the yellow sunshine hidden by the dark shade of the Tamāla tree, the green betel and the blue Jambū, the whole atmosphere whitened by flower-pollen, form nature's colour-picture of the forest quite transcending the meagre and artificial portraiture of the same by the human hand.

Bāṇa gives another colour-picture of a country (Janapada) using colour names, this time with no purpose of punning.[2] The

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1. अथ क्रमेण गच्छत एव तस्य कुब्जलितकर्णिकाराः, प्रचुरचम्पकाः स्फीतफलेग्रहयः, फलभरितनमेरवः नीलदलनलदनारिकेलनिकराः, हरिकेसरसरलपरिकराः कोरकनिकुरम्बरोमाञ्चितकुरबकराजयः, रक्ताशोकपल्लवलावण्यलिप्यमानदशदिशः, प्रविकसितकेसररजोविसरबध्यमानचारुधूसरिमाणः स्वरजःसिकतिलकतलाः, प्रविचलितहिङ्गवः, प्रचुरपूगफलाः, प्रसवपूगपिञ्जप्रियङ्गवः, परागपिञ्जरितमञ्जरीपुञ्जायमानमधुपमञ्जुशिञ्जाजनितजनमुदः, मदमलमेचकितमुचुकुन्दस्कन्धकाण्डकथ्यमाननिःशङ्ककरिकरटकण्डूतयः, उड्डीयमाननिःशङ्कचटुलकृष्णशारशावसकलशाद्वलसुभगभूमयः, तमःकालतमतमालमालामीलितातपाः, स्तबकदन्तुरितदेवदारवः, तरलताम्बूलीस्तम्बजालकितजम्बूजम्बीरवीथयः, कुसुमरजोधवलधूलीकदम्बचक्रचुम्बितव्योमानः H. C. p. 234.

2. पाकविशरारुराजमाषनिकराकिर्मीरितैश्च स्फुटितमुद्गफलकोशीकपिशितैर्गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैरधिष्ठितः,···क्षीरोदमिव क्षीरं क्षरद्भिर्वाष्पच्छेद्यतृणतृप्तैर्गोधनैर्धवलितविपिनः, विविधमखहोमधूमान्धशतमन्युमुक्तैर्लोचनैरिव सहस्रसंख्यैः कृष्णशारैः शारीकृतोद्देशः, धवलधूलीमुचां केतकीवनानां रजोभिः पाण्डरीकृतैः प्रमथोद्धूलनधूसरैः शिवपुरस्येव प्रवेशैः प्रदेशैरुपशोभितः, शाककन्दलश्यामलितग्रामोपकण्ठकाश्यपीपृष्ठः, पदे पदे करभपालीभिः पीलुपल्लवप्रस्फोटितैः करपुटपीडितमातुलुङ्गीदलरसोपलिप्तैः स्वेच्छाविचितकुङ्कुमकेसरकृतपुष्पप्रकरैः प्रत्यग्रफलरसपानसुखसुप्तपथिकैर्वनदेवतादीयमानामृतरसप्रपागृहैरिव द्राक्षामण्डपैः स्फुरत्फलानां च बीजलग्नशुकचञ्चुरागाणामिव समारूढकपिकुलकपोलसंदिह्यमानकुसुमानां दाडिमीनां वनैर्विलोभनीयोपनिर्गमः····· श्रीकण्ठो नाम जनपदः H. C. p. 95

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natural ground (that of the forest) mottled with bean-seeds, made tawny by the seed-vessels of kidney-beans splitting and falling from them, the forest-land whitened by herds of cows, variegated by the spotted deer, made dusky-white by the pollen of Ketakī flowers, the lands about villages dark-green with pot-herb plantations and plantain groves, with flowers and Kuṅkumakesaras scattered in pomegranate groves having flowers red like the parrot's beak and creating a doubt whether they where monkeys' faces, is a beautiful colour study.

Never was the multicoloured nature of the ground given out more vividly than in the passage in the Kādambarī where Bāṇa compares the divers colours of the earth spread here and there helter skelter with the grey of the old Śaphara's belly, the brown of the camel's hair, the dull colour of the Rallaka deer, the light white of the cobweb, the brighter white of a full-grown lotus-stalk, the brown of an old monkey's hair, and the pure white of the foam (froth) in the mouth of Śivas bull.[1] None but an artist in the true sense can conceive the rich colour imagery found in the description of the elephant Gandhamādana, who with his dark body tinged rosy by a free use of Sindūra (red powder) and ornamented with garlands of white flowers on his crown and the long pearl trappings hanging from the ears appears like the Meru mountain at sunset with the last lingering rays of the sun, the stars preping at its crest and the white waters of the ganges flowing down the slopes.[2]

The texts on painting like the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the chapters on painting in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi

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1. शनैः शनैश्च बलसंक्षोभजन्मा क्षितेरनेकवर्णतया क्वचिज्जीर्णशफरक्रोडधूम्रः, क्वचित् क्रमेलकसटासंनिभः, क्वचित् पीरणतरल्लकरोमपल्लवमलिनः, क्वचिदुत्पन्नोर्णातन्तुपाण्डरः, क्वचिज्जरठमृणालदण्डधवलः, क्वचिज्जरत्कपिकेशकपिलः, क्वचिद्धरवृषभरोमन्थफेनपिण्डपाण्डरः.....रेणुरुत्पपात Kā. p. 218.

2. बहलसिन्दूररेणुपाटलेन क्षितितलडोलायमानमुक्ताकलापावचूलेन सितसुममालाजालशबलशिरसा संलग्नसंध्यातपेन तिर्यगावर्जितश्वेतगङ्गाप्रवाहेण तारागणदन्तुरितशिलातलेन मेरुगिरिणेव गन्धमादनेनानुगम्यमानः

Kā. p. 214

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and the Śivatattvaratnākara and the Citralakṣaṇa chapter of the Śilparatna etc., give a list of the various tints got by mixing primary colours. It is remarkable that Bāṇa has set at naught the limited colour variety of these texts and given out in his catalogue of innumerable tints that deep and close study of nature which had enabled him to grasp the extreme subtlety of difference between tint and tint. In spite of the limited number of colours stated the texts on painting are not unacquainted with subtle differences in the same colour. The Śilparatna gives three gradations of red—Sindūra for light red, Gairika (mountain-born) red (mineral chalks) for a middle tint and Lākṣā(lac) juice for a deep colour.[1] The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara tell us that vermilion is for reddish brown, and red lac or sap, red sanders and mountain-born chalks are for crimson tint.[2] They echo Bāṇa's statements. White and black give the grey of smoke;[3] blue and white the colour of the pigeon similar to the Rājāvarta* and the hemp-flower.[4] Red mountain chalk and conch powder give a peculiar pale red (Dhūmracchāya).[5] Daradaϕ (vermilion) mixed with white gives the pale red of the red-lily while Alaktaka (red lac or sap) combined with white gives the colour of the sun's horses.[6] The difference is very slight here.

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1. मृदुरक्ते तु सिन्दूरं गैरिकं मध्यरक्तके ॥
अतिरक्ते तु संयोज्यं वर्णे लाक्षारसं विदुः ।
Śilparatna, p. 255, Śl. 117, 118.

2. ·····शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।
रक्तेष्वलक्तशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा ॥
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

3. कज्जलं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूमच्छायं निरूपितम् ।
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

* An inferior diamond of the Virāṭa country.

4. निर्विशङ्खेन संमिश्रं कपोताभं प्रजायते ।
(नीली शङ्खेन संयुक्ता कपोताभा विराजते a better reading.)
राजावर्तः स एव स्यादतसीपुष्पसंनिभः ॥
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

5. गैरिकं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूम्रच्छायं निरूपितम् ।
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

ϕ Vermilion or Cinnabar, a red mercuric sulphide of oriental source.

6. दरदं शङ्खसंमिश्रं सौराश्वसदृशप्रभम् ।
or भवेत् कोकनदच्छवि Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

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Pure indigo (Nīlī) of the colour of the blue lily gives a green tint when mixed with yellow pigment.[1] Red lac with lamp-black gives a dark brown and with blue the colour of the Jambū fruit.[2] The tints got by mixing primary colours—like smoke grey, pigeon colour, the different varieties of red, brown, green and the colour of the Jambū fruit are clearly given by Bāṇa. The variegated hue to which he refers is given by the Śilparatna as a convenient colour for artists; but according to Śrīkumāra it is got by mixing red, black and yellow in equal proportions.[3] Red and yellow give the colour of Bakuḷa flowers which Bāṇa describes as Dhūsara (tawny).[4] This is the same as flame colour.[5] There are also other varieties of red given in the Śilparatna. The green of the parrot's wing described by Bāṇa as not dissimilar from that of the plantain leaf is got by a mixture of Haritāla (yellow) and blue;[6] and the purple of the Jambū fruit so cleverly described by the parrot in the Kādambarī is the result of the union of red lac and blue.[7] The yellowish white of the inner petals of the Ketakī flower noted by Bāṇa is the type of white got by mixing Haritāla and conch-powder as laid down in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.[8] The rosy

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1. केवलैव च या नीली भवेदिन्दीवरप्रभा ।
   हरितालेन संमिश्रा जायते हरितच्छविः ॥
   Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
2. अलक्तकेन संमिश्रं कज्जलं पाटलं भवेत् ।
   अलक्तं नीलिकायुक्तं जम्बूवर्णं स्फुटं भवेत् ॥
   Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
3. श्वेतं कृष्णं च पीतं च समभागविमिश्रितम् ।
   शारच्छवीति विख्यातं वर्णकारसुखप्रदम् ॥ Śilparatna, p. 256.
4. रक्तं पीतं समं मिश्रं वकुलस्य फलाकृति । Śilparatna, p. 257.
   The colour of the Bakula fruit is not essentially different from that of the flower.
5. ज्वलनाभमिदं ख्यातमग्निवर्णनिभं परम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
6. हरितालं श्यामयुतं शुकपक्षनिभं भवेत् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
7. लाक्षारसेन संमिश्रं कृष्णं जम्बूफलाकृति । Śilparatna, p. 257.
8. गैरिकं हरितालेन मिश्रितं गौरतां व्रजेत् ।
   Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
   हरितालं शङ्खयुतं घोरात्व(?)सदृशप्रभम् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.
   घोरात्व can have no meaning. It might be गौरान्नासदृशप्रभम् which would mean that it is not very different from the colour 'Gaura' (got by mixing red and white—a pale rosy white.)

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colour of the pigeon's leg in the Kādambarī is the 'Gaura' type of rosy white in the Śilparatna,[1] which is the same as the Saurāśva-sadṛśaprabha (colour of the sun's horses) of the Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara, though the 'Gaura' of these books is slightly different from that of the Śilparatna being got by mixing red and yellow instead of red and white. The Piṅgaḷa type of yellow that Bāṇa states as the colour of honey[2] is not the result of a mixture of white and yellow in the proportion of one is to two[3] that the Śilparatna gives. It is a tawny colour—more red than yellow—something like Piñjara which is defined by the Haima-kośa as Pītarakta.[4] Bāṇa gives the Piñjara type of reddish brown as the colour of ripe paddy fields—a really true observation; and this colour is lighter than that of honey which has a greater proportion of red. This might be the same as the Atirakta of the Śilparatna with yellow and red in the proportion of one is to two.[5] The variegated colour of deer, tigers, peacocks, tittiris etc. as given by Bāṇa is quite in accordance with the rule of the Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara that holds the use of different colours for the effect of the animals absolutely necessary.[6] It might be two colours or three or more.

Bāṇa's colour-scheme is never complete without a reference to certain of his minute observations that go to prove his artistic insight. The pale pink of Śakragopas,[7] the pale green on the back of the lotus leaf,[8] the brown of the peeping moustaches[9], the green colour of fresh cow-dung smeared on the floor[10]—which idea is

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1. सितं रक्तेन संयुक्तं गौरच्छवि हि दृश्यते । Śilparatna, p. 256.
2. कमलकवलपीतं मधुरसमिव स्वभावपिङ्गलेन वमन्तम् H. C. p. 66.
3. श्वेतस्य द्विगुणं पीतं मिश्रं ख्यातं तु पिङ्गलम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
4. पीतरक्तस्तु पिञ्जरः इति हैमः ।
5. पीतस्य द्विगुणं रक्तं मिश्रितं त्वतिरक्तकम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
6. एणसारङ्गशार्दूलशिखितित्तिरिकादिषु ।
   भिन्नवर्णेषु सत्त्वेषु पृथग्वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ॥
   Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
7. शाक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्ठनया Kā. p. 192.
   पाटलितशाद्वलैः शक्रगोपकैरपि पाण्डुतां प्रत्यपद्यत Kā. p. 517.
8. म्लानारविन्दनीलपलाशपृष्ठपाण्डरेण Kā. p. 540.
9. विजृम्भमाणश्मश्रुरागशोभा Kā. p. 466.
10. बहुलगोमयोपलेपहरिते Kā. p. 488.
    हरितगोमयोपलिप्ताक्षितितलविततते H. C. p. 103.
    हरितगोमयोपलिप्ताजिरस्थण्डिलस्थापितम् H. C. p. 57.

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echoed by Māgha[1] are only a few. The picture of dawn with the pale moonlight slowly disappearing with the moon, and the forests rising as it were, from the waters, a dark mass with the general outline faintly visible across the rosy sky, is a perfect silhouette.[2] The comparison of the pale moon to a polishless silver pot is apt.[3] The rosy colour of the morning rays not unmixed with white in union with black (blue) is a faithful picture.[4] Bāṇa gives the colour of the peacock's plume with great accuracy. It is Śabala and has blue predominant but appears green when the sun's light falls on it[5]. This observation is really striking. The Śabala colour of the the peacock is further explained by Māgha who gives it out as violet and gold.[6] Amusing, indeed, is the quaint but highly realistic description of the canary of the royal household approaching Kādambarī, being followed by her mate, to lodge a complaint with the princess against her dissipative husband[7]. The

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1. शुकाङ्गनीलोपलनिर्मितानां लिप्तेषु भासा गृहदेहलीनाम् ।
यस्यामलिन्देषु न चक्रुरेव मुग्धाङ्गना गोमयगोमुखानि ॥
Śiśupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 48.

2. गलदवश्यायक्षालनादिव शनैः शनैर्दलितमुक्तागौरज्योत्स्नानुभावमुत्सृजन्तीष्वाशासु, पुनर्विभाव्यमानसहजश्यामकान्तिषु सलिलादिवोन्मज्जत्सु तरुलताविटपेषु
Kā. p. 471.

3. प्रभाविरहादनुन्मृष्टरजतकुम्भाभमिदमपरान्तावलम्बि वर्तते रजनिकरबिम्बम् Kā. p. 581.

4. यथायथोद्गमविस्तारिणी जरत्तामरसपत्रारुणा पाण्डुच्छविरुल्लसति सीमन्तयन्ती तमः केशसंघातमिव पूर्वस्याः ककुभोऽरुणाग्रकरालोकततिः Kā. p. 581.

5. एष विकचोत्पलवनरचनानुकारिणमुत्पतच्चारुचन्द्रकशतं हरिणलोचनद्युतिशबलमभिनवशाद्वलमिव विशति शिखिनः कलापमातपाहतो निःशङ्कमहिः
Kā. p. 90.

6. श्यामारुणैर्वारणदानतोयैरालोडिताः काञ्चनभूपरागाः ।
आनेमिमग्नैः शितिकण्ठपिच्छक्षोदद्युतश्चुक्षुदिरे रथौघैः ॥
Śiśupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 27.

7. अथ सहसैव त्वरितगतिः, त्रिवर्णरागमिन्द्रायुधमिव कुण्डलीकृतं कण्ठेन वहता विद्रुमाङ्कुरानुकारिणा चञ्चुपुटेन मरकतद्युतिपक्षतिना मन्थरगतेन शुकेनानुबध्यमाना, कुमुदकेसरापिञ्जरतया चरणयुगलस्य चम्पककलिकाकारतया च मुखस्य कुवलयदलनीलतया च पक्षद्युतीनां कुसुममयीवागत्य सारिका सक्रोधमवादीत्
Kā. p. 351.

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parrot's neck, tricoloured and bent, resembles the rainbow in its curvature and hue; the canary with its feet rosy-gold as the lily-pollen, its face of the form of the Campaka petal (golden), its plume of the tinge of the blue lotus, is delicately feminine and flower-like.

Anatomy. It is not mere conventional comparisons to various flowers, trees and animals that satisfies the spirit of so keen an observer as Bāṇa. He has his own way in everything: not that he is unaware of the conventional comparisons or that they are defective—they are apt though oft repeated—but because he wants to be more original and forceful. As an instance we have his comparison of the limbs of a strong and sinewy man like Mādhavagupta to those of various animals.[1] His strength compared to a lion's, his gait to an elephant's are not to our point. His forearm is likened to that of a tiger's. A close study of the particular brawny limb of a human being and that of the mighty Bengal tiger would reveal the force of this comparison attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 1). His eyes, wide and round, are like a deer's. It would not be without gain perusing the leaves of 'Some notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy' where Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has tried to show the similarity of the deer's eye to the rather wide one of a human being by means of a picture; but any day it would be a feast of the eye to observe from nature the beauty of God's creation albeit only in a small limb or organ of a comparatively insignificant but yet a lovely creature—the deer. His nose is like the snout of a boar. This is a rather exaggerated way of giving out that his nose was prominent. But yet it is forceful and striking. The picture (fig. 2) might give some

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

1. चक्षुः कुरङ्गकैर्घोणावंशं वराहैः स्कन्धपीठं महिषैः प्रकोष्ठबन्धं व्याघ्रैः पराक्रमं केसरिभिर्गमनं मातङ्गजैर्मृगयाक्षणितशेषैर्भीतिरुत्कोचमिव दत्तं दर्शयन्तं माधवगुप्तं ददृशतुः H. C. p. 140.

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idea of the comparison. Lastly his lusty shoulders are compared to the mighty humpy back of the buffalo. This is a vigorous stroke in the annals of comparison. It is not that Bāṇa is not conversant with the hackneyed phrase वृषस्कन्ध; he actually uses it elsewhere describing the man who followed Mekhalaka.[1] Both the comparisons, and the force of the use of ककुद् which gives strength to the comparison, are attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 3).

As a contrast to the description of sturdy Mādhavagupta, a man in the service of a master and with a hardened body, is the

Fig. 3.

delicate delineation of the beautiful limbs of Candrāpīḍa. His forehead is like the crescent moon, eyes long and like the half closed blue lotus, lips like tender leaves, nails, palms and soles coral-red, and withal his body symmetrical and full of lāvaṇya.[2]

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1. हरवृषककुदकूटविकटांसतटेन H. C. p. 61.

2. तथैवेयमिन्दुशकलानुकारिणः कान्तिर्ललाटस्य । तादृशमेवेदमाकुलित-नीलोत्पलद्युतिहारि कर्णान्तायतं लोचनद्वयम् । तादृश एवाभिनवकिसलयच्छविरधरः ।

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Elsewhere Bāṇa gives in a general way that the chest should be broad, the arms sinewy, the waist slim and the thighs well developed in the case of a youth.[1]

We shall now turn to the fairer sex. Lāvaṇya[2] is the beautifying factor according to Bāṇa and there is not a description of beauty but we find it there. In describing Patralekhā the daughter of Kulūteśvara, *i.e.*, Kulūta King, he gives out that her lips were thin and looked a streak—not coarse or thick;* that her nose was symmetrical, well rounded and elevated—the force of this is well understood if we note, of course, only occasionally by chance (since ugliness is not the law of the universe), a rather deformed snub nose where one nostril is smaller than the other and the *alæ nasi* are not well rounded; that her eyes were like the full-blown lotus; that her body was slender like a creeper, her heel and ankle well developed;ϕ that her waist was slim and that above all she had Mahānubhāvākāra.[3] This is the same as the Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa of heroes and the high-born. It is essential in depicting high class women—Uttamastrī. In the description of Kādambarī Bāṇa gives free play to his poetic genius and gives us a grand picture of typical feminine beauty. His Utprekṣās ('Poetic fancy')

तथैव चेदं विद्रुमलोहितनखाङ्गुलीतलं पाणिपादम् । तदेवेदमविमलितसहजलावण्यसौकुमार्याणां सौष्ठवमङ्गानाम् Kā. p. 549.

1. वक्षसैव सह विस्तीर्यते वाञ्छा । दोर्द्वयेनैव सह स्थूलतामापद्यते धीः । मध्येनैव सह कार्श्यमुपयाति श्रुतम् । ऊरुयुगलेनैव सहोपचीयतेऽविनयः । Kā. p. 496.

2. Cf. रूपभेदः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम्
सादृश्यं वर्णिका भङ्ग इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥
Jayamaṅgaḷā on Vātsyāyana.

* It is surprising that almost all the Ajanta pictures have thick lips when such a delineation is considered a doṣa ;
Cf. दौर्बल्यबिन्दुरेखात्वमविभक्तत्वमेव च ।
बृहद्गण्डोष्ठनेत्रत्वं·····चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
Viṣṇudharmottara.

ϕ Her feet resting firmly on the ground, devoid of the ugly gait caused by an upraised heel, suggest the well-developed nature of her heel and ankle.

3. बहलताम्बूलकृष्णिकान्धकारिताधरलेखया समसुवृत्ततुङ्गनासिकया, विकसितपुण्डरीकलोचनया·····नववनलेखयेव कोमलतनुलतया···महानुभावाकारयानुगम्यमानं कन्यकया Kā. p. 193.

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regarding her weighty hips, slender waist, rounded thighs, high breasts, deep naval, tender arms, rosy nails and red lips are best studied in the text itself. Her nose (Nāsāvaṁśa) is shaped like the bow of Rati's lute.[1] The comparison would not be clear without seeing the fiddlestick; and we are at a loss to know what sort of a thing it was in the days of Bāṇa. The word Vaṁśa is invariably found used in his descriptions of the nose. What he means is that a marked nose should be divided into two equal parts by the nasal bone, thus elevating it and giving the contour of the side view an undulation rather than a flat straight line. The bone would thus be something like the node of a bamboo. The rounded nature of the nose and its symmetry would be clear from the picture (fig. 4). Her eyes are long aud tinged red at the tip, her eyebrows creeper-like and her ears like the Pāśa. This last comparison is noteworthy and is easily seen in the pictures at Ajanta and the ears of the Mūrtis of Gods in temples. A better idea of the ear is got by the description of the limb in the case of Bhairavācāya.[2] But Karṇapāśa has an air of delicacy and is generally used in the case of women. Finally, her hair is long and of a luxuriant growth.[3]

Fig. 4.

Now, beauty alone is not the rule in this mundane world. There is ugliness; and it has also a right in the sphere of Art. Portrayal of the horrid is as essential in art as portrayal of the lovely. 'It is only by the habit of representing faithfully all things,' says Ruskin, 'that we can truly learn what is beautiful, and what is not. The ugliest objects contain some element of beauty; and in all it is an element peculiar to themselves, which cannot be seperated from their ugliness, but must either be enjoyed together with it or not at all.'[4] Oscar Wilde voices forth the same opinion[5] when he says 'Nothing so ignoble that Art cannot

1. रतिपरिवादिनीरत्नकोणचारुणा नासावंशेन च विराजमानाम्
Kā. p. 140.
2. लोमशकर्णशष्कुलीप्रदेशम् H. C. p. 103.
3. दीर्घकेशकलापाम् Kā. p. 341.
4. Modern Painters, Vol. III, part IV, Chap. iii, para. 15.
5. Essays and Lectures—House Decoration, p. 171.

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sanctify it'. It is this same idea of his that Bāṇa reveals through his descriptions of the Draviḍa-dhārmika, the Śabaras in the Kādambarī, Bhairavācārya and his desciple. The brown shaggy eyebrows and the blood-shot eyes of the old hunter,[1] the ugly protuberant blue veins and small-pox scars enhancing the original ugliness of the Draviḍa-dhārmika[2] are specially to be noted in their description. Bhairavācārya has a bald pate with the few remaining matty hairs tied up. His ears all overgrown with hairs and rudely modelled like a Śaṣkulī,* his forehead full of wrinkles and marked by the brown shaggy eyebrows united and running in one continuous line, his long eyes emitting divers lights, his nose resembling in its curvature an eagle's beak, his cheeks diminished in their size by the extending corners of his wide mouth possessing long, projecting teeth and hanging lip, with his belly slightly formed by a decrease of folds and his hips putting on flesh, Bhairavācārya is a veritable model for an artist to study features.[3] The description of his pupil is not less impressive.[4] Though emaciated in body he has well-developed bones. His forehead is broad; and the cheeks void of flesh appear hollow. The phrase 'Nirmāṁsagaṇḍakūpa' is pregnant with meaning. His eyes

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1. रुधिरबिन्दुपाटलया कपिलभ्रूलतापरिवेषभीषणया दृष्ट्या Kā. p. 65.

2. स्थूलस्थूलैः शिराजालकैर्गोधागोलिकाकृकलासकुलैरिव दग्धस्थाण्वाशङ्क्या समारूढैर्गवाक्षितेन, अलक्ष्मीसमुत्खातलक्षणस्थानैरिव विस्फोटकव्रणबिन्दुभिः कल्माषितसकलशरीरेण Kā. p. 398.

* Called முதுக்கு in Tamil and చెప్పుడి in Telugu.

3. स्खालित्यक्षीयमाणशङ्खलोमलेखम् ; लोमशकर्णशष्कुलीप्रदेशं पृथुललाटतटम्, सहजललाटंवलिभङ्गसंकोचितकूर्चभागां बभ्रूभासं भ्रूसंगत्या निरन्तरामायामिनीमेकामिव भ्रूलेखां बिभ्राणम्, ·····अतिदीर्घेण लोचनयुगलेन परितो महामण्डलमिवानेकवर्णरागमालिखन्तम् , ·····तार्क्ष्यतुण्डकोटिकुब्जाग्रघोणम्, दूरविदीर्णसूक्कसंक्षिप्तकपोलम्, किंचिद्दन्तुरतया सदा हृदयसंनिहितहरमौलिचन्द्रातपेनेव निर्गच्छता दन्तालोकेन धवलयन्तं दिशां जालकम् , ·····ईषत्प्रशिथिलवलिवलयबध्यमानतुन्दम्, उपचीयमानस्फिङ्मांसपिण्डकम्·····भैरवाचार्यं ददर्श H. C. p. 103.

4. भैक्षक्षाममपि स्थूलास्थिभिरवयवैः पीवरमिवोपलक्ष्यमाणम्, पृथूत्तमाङ्गमुत्तुङ्गबलिभङ्गस्थपुटललाटम्, निर्मांसगण्डकूपम्, मधुबिन्दुपिङ्गलपरिमण्डलाक्षम्, ईषदावक्रघोणम्, अतिप्रलम्बैककर्णपाशम्, अलाबुबीजविकटोन्नतदन्तपङ्क्तिम्, तुरगानूकश्लथाधरलेखम्, लम्बचिबुकाययततरलपनभृ·····मस्करिणमद्राक्षीत् ।

H. C. p. 101.

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are globular, the nose slightly curved and the ears drooping; his teeth shaped like the seeds of the bottlegourd and the hanging lower lip resembling that of the horse. His face appears lengthened by the drooping chin. The description of the teeth and lip is highly realistic.

Bāṇa gives us Lakṣaṇas of some demigods also. The Vidyādharas have curled hair, wear crowns on their heads, Kuṇḍalas on their ears, garlands by their neck, Keyūras on the hand, girdles on their waist and carry clubs and swords.[1] The Kinnaras are horse-faced beings generally going in pairs.[2]

Of the so-called less important of God's creation, animals, Bāṇa gives us a detailed account of two important ones—the elephant and the horse. The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi also singles out these two and deals with their anatomy;[3] with this difference, that the one deals with their characteristic features while the other gives measurements for drawing their figures.

We have but to read the description of Darpaśāta to get an accurate idea of a noble elephant. Its streaky trunk gives us an idea of its furrowed skin.[4] The red lower lip of the elephant is a minute observation.[5] Its ears are like big fans, the tail like a chowrie.[6] With polished nails, shaggy hairs, ponderous head,

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1. सद्य एव कुन्तली किरीटी कुण्डली हारी केयूरी मेखली मुद्गरी खड्गी च भूत्वावाप विद्याधरत्वम् H. C. p. 115.

2. मृगयानिर्गतः विचरन् कानने शैलशिखरादवतीर्णं यदृच्छया किंनरमिथुनमद्राक्षीत् Kā. p. 226.

अहो निष्फलमपि मे तुरङ्गमुखमिथुनानुसरणमेतदालोक्यतः सरः सफलतामुपगतम् Kā. p. 234.

3. ....एतल्लक्षणमुद्दिष्टं वाजिनां सोमभूभुजा ।.....
...अनेनैव प्रकारेण लेखनीया गजाकृतिः ॥
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

4. वलिवलयराजिभिस्तनीयसीभिस्तरङ्गितोदरेणातिस्थवीयसा हस्तार्गलदण्डेन H. C. p. 65.

5. रक्तांशुकसुकुमारतलेन तालुना कवलितानि रक्तपद्मवनानीव वर्षन्तम् H. C. p. 66.

6. ...कर्णतालतालवृन्ताभ्यां वीजयन्तमिव...H. C. p. 66.
गजाधिपत्यचिह्नेन चामरेणेव चलता वालधिना विराजमानम् H. C. p. 67.

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tender pate, short neck, and small belly (of course only proportionately)[1], he stands in a beautiful Tripadī pose quite characteristic of him. Something of this import is attempted in the picture (fig. 5).

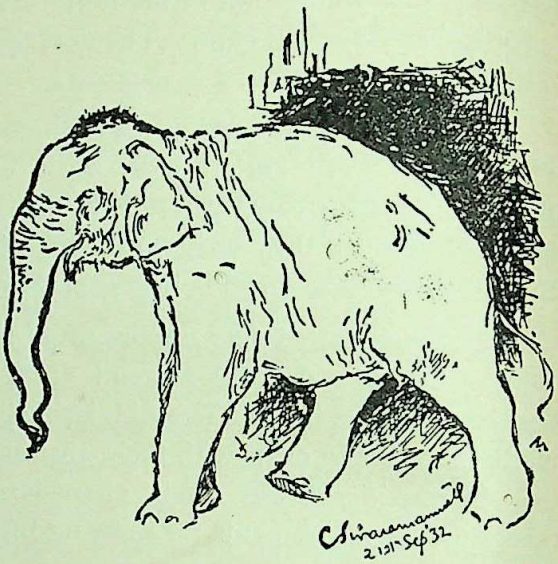

Fig. 5.

Of the horse we have a fine account in the description of Indrāyudha. Its thighs are thin (as if scraped), chest is wide, the face narrow and long—a sign of good breed, an elongated neck, the flanks reduced (*i. e.*) small girth at the loins—another sign of good breed, and the hind parts well-developed.[2] The Harṣacarita gives us something more. The horses before the palace gates of Emperor Harṣa are fine breeds with small ears, long necks, powerful shoulders, curved chests, hard hoofs (neatly shod with horse-shoes), thin waists, broad rounded hips, and long stately bodies.[3] They are of various shades, brown, black, white, reddish yellow, yellow, mottled;[4] and are from various countries and different in their build. Thus, for instance, the Kāmbhoja horses have very long manes.[5] Bāṇa's proficiency in Aśva and

1. स्निग्धं नखेषु, परुषं रोमविषये, गुरुं मुखे,···मृदुं शिरसि,···ह्रस्वं स्कन्धबन्धे,···दरिद्रमुदरे··· H. C. p. 67.

2. उत्कीर्णमिव जङ्घासु, विस्तारितमिवोरसि, श्लक्ष्णीकृतमिव मुखे, प्रसारितमिव कंधरायाम्, उल्लिखितमिव पार्श्वयोः, द्विगुणीकृतमिव जघनभागे Kā. p. 156.

3. आयतनिर्मांसमुखैः, अनुत्कटकर्णकोशैः, ···यूपानुपूर्वीवक्रायतोदग्रग्रीवैः, उपचयश्वसत्स्कन्धसन्धिभिः, निर्भुग्नोरःस्थलैः, अस्थूलप्रगुणप्रसृतैर्लोहपीठकठिनखुरमण्डलैः, अतिजवव्रुटनभयादनिर्मितान्त्राणीवोदराणि वृत्तानि धारयद्भिः, उद्यद्द्रोणीविभज्यमानपृथुजघनैः·····आयतैरपि पश्चात्पाशबन्धप्रसारितैकाङ्घ्रिभिरायततरैरिवोपलक्ष्यमाणैः H. C. p. 62, 63.

4. शोणैश्च, श्यामैश्च, श्वेतैश्च, पिङ्गरैश्च, हरिद्भिश्च, तित्तिरिकल्माषैश्च H. C. p. 62.

5. स्कन्धावलम्बमानकेसरमालाः काम्बोजवाजिन इव H. C. p. 131.

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Gaja Laksaṇas would be clear by going through Śaṅkara's commentary on the Harṣacarita wherein he quotes authoritative Lakṣaṇa texts.

Bāṇa is quite aware of the tremendous potentialities of pose. In fact, in every description of his, posture is given an important place and its power of enhancing or detracting beauty is recognised. Kādambarī, gone up the terrace of the palace to watch Candrāpīḍa on the Krīḍāparvata, stands, motionless (see fig. 6) with one hand on her waist, the other running after the loosely

Fig. 6.

fluttering upper garment.[1] Elsewhere she is described in a reclining posture, her forepart a bit raised, adjusting her braid over her shoulder before a mirror.[2] The picture here given (fig. 7) would give some idea of the beauty of the posture; but one would do well to see that striking picture of Velasquez

1. मुहुर्मुहुर्नितम्बबिम्बन्यस्तवामहस्तपल्लवा प्रावृत्तांशुकानुसारप्रसारितदक्षिणकरा निश्चलैतारका लिखितेव··· Kā. p. 365.

2. कपोलसङ्गिनी च मणिदर्पणे विलोक्यायथास्थितां करेण कबरीमंसदेशे निवेशयन्तीम्···, Kā. p. 512.

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'Venus and Cupid' which, in my opinion, satisfies this description to a great extent (of course the figure must be draped before we institute comparisons), and than which I cannot conceive a more sublime picture in delicacy of treatment. In the Harṣacarita we have the palace of Rājyaśrī with Cupid painted in a peculiarly beautiful posture (see fig. 8), the charm lying in the half-closed eyes.[1] As an expert in pose Bāṇa knows enough of Aṅgabhaṅga[2]. There is a variety of Aṅgabhaṅga in the limbs of the Vāravilāsinīs surrounding Harṣa. With a definite knowledge of Aṅgas and Pratyaṅgas[3] he gives out names of seperate Bhaṅgas like the Grīvābhaṅga mentioned by Kālidāsa. One such is the Madhya-bhāgabhaṅga.[4] A great aesthete conversant with the principles of Nāṭya (dance), Bāṇa informs us of a charming pose—Kara-veṇikā—in which two women stand with their hands interlocked.[5]

Fig. 7.

Sculpture:

Of the allied arts, Sculpture demands some attention. Bāṇa refers to Pustakṛts, *i. e.*, modellers or sculptors as doing some work in connection with the festivities of the marriage of

1. एकदेशालिखितस्तबकितरक्ताशोकतरुतलभाजाधिज्यचापेन तिर्यक्कूणितनेत्र-त्रिभागेन शरमृजू कुर्वता कामदेवेनाधिष्ठितम् H. C. p. 148.

2. अभिलाषलीलानिर्निमित्तस्मितैश्चन्द्रोदयानिव मदनसहायकाय संपादय-न्तीभिरङ्गभङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः H. C. p. 75.

3. सुचिरमालोक्यास्योपारूढयौवनभराभिरामतराण्यङ्गप्रत्यङ्गानि Kā. p. 464.

4. देवताप्रणामेषु मध्यभागभङ्गो नातिविस्मयकरः Kā. p. 335.

5. अङ्गभङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः Kā. p. 75.

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Rājyaśrī. But their work is restricted to the making of such trivial things as the models of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, and cocoanut, plantain and areca-nut trees.[1] It does not mean they do not know more elegant work. The occasion requires those models. Citraputrikās, *i. e.*, statuettes of beauty, were great favourites with the royal house; and we have queen Yaśovatī taking leave of even the statuettes, which she loved,* before consuming herself in the fire.[2] We have references to Sālabhañjikās carved on pillars to beautify them.[3] Candraśālās* were especially provided with adornments in the shape of carved Sālabhañjikās.[4] In the Kautukagṛha (pleasure house) of Rājyaśrī we have peculiar statuettes going by the name of Añjalikārikās.[5] These are made of clay, and as their very name suggests, have their hands joined in respect or adoration. We might then suppose them to be the forerunners of the later statues in that posture like that of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his queens in Tirupati. But the Añjalikārikās hold fruits in their hand. Hence the Añjali should be in the form of an opening lotus—as when, Arghya is offered in Sandhyā. This has some similarity with the Dīpapratimās

Fig. 8.

1. लेप्यकारकदम्बकक्रियमाणमृण्मयमीनकूर्ममकरनारिकेलकदलीपूगवृक्षकम् H. C. p. 143.
2. चित्रपुत्रिका अप्यामन्त्रयमाणाम् H. C. p. 165.
3. सुभटभुजस्तम्भविलाससालभञ्जिकाम् H. C. p. 115.
   विश्राम्यन्ती सालभञ्जिकेव समीपगतस्तम्भभित्तिष्वलक्ष्यत H.C. p. 125.
*. The room on the topmost terrace.
4. प्रतिबुध्यमानायाश्च चन्द्रशालिकासालभञ्जिकुपरिजनो जयशब्दमसकृदजनयन् H. C. p. 127.
5. सेकसुकुमारयवाङ्कुरदन्तुरैः पञ्चास्यैः कलशैः कोमलवर्णिकाविचित्रैरामित्रमुखैश्च मङ्गल्यफलहस्ताभिरञ्जलिकारिकाभिरुद्भासितपर्यन्ताम् H. C. p. 147.

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(figures holding lamps) in temples though the hands are a bit apart in this case. Pillars are decorated with carvings of peacocks;[1] and these are executed in costly stone. There are temporary dolls of camphor[2], and others of moon-stone.[3] All these and the quaint ornamentation of water channels in the form of Makaramukhas[4], not to speak of the numerous other architectural ornamentations, are done by stone-masons and specialists in the field. That the stone-masons were specialists is no wonder when a lay man like the general Siṁhanāda is a Marmajña of Mahāvigrahas.[5] Of course, Bāṇa uses a pun on the word but that does not disprove his knowledge of the subject. Having actually observed the sculptors at work, he gives us a vivid picture of the material just after the chiselling work is done—the rosy layers becoming visible.[6] Perhaps red stone was mostly used in his days. The workmen seem to have been engaged in raising temples and chiselling ornamentations and letters on stone about the time of the poet.[7]

Ornamentation is an essential feature of Art and it is but proper that some attention is paid to what Bāṇa has to say on this point. We have ear ornaments like Dantapatras,[8] Trikaṇṭakas[9] —a conical jewel with three stones inset, Dantapatras coloured

1. स्तनकलशभारावनम्यमानमूर्तिमणिस्तम्भमयूरानालम्बसे Kā. p. 336.
2. मुहुः कपोलफलकेन कर्पूरपुत्रिकामाश्लिष्यन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
3. मुहुर्मुहुर्भुजलतया तुषारशिलासालभञ्जिकामालिङ्गन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
4. मरकतशिलामकरिकाप्रणालप्रस्रवणसिच्यमानलतामण्डपे Kā. p. 378.
   दन्तमयमकरमुखमहाप्रणाल इव H. C. p. 16.
   गन्धोदकवाहि मकरमुखप्रणालीपूर्यमाणक्रीडावापसिमूहम् H. C. p. 142.
5. मर्मज्ञो महाविग्रहाणाम् H. C. p. 190.
6. स च प्रत्यग्रत्वष्टृटङ्कतष्टतनुरिव बृहद्बहलरुधिररसमांसच्छविरपरपारावारपयसि ममज्ज मज्जिष्ठारुणोऽरुणसारथिः H. C. p. 178.
   There is also a reference to the popular ancedote of how Sūrya was put in the furnace by Tvaṣṭā.
7. सुरालयशिलाघट्टनटङ्कनिकरनिकृत्ता इव व्यदीर्यन्त विपदः H. C. p. 96.
   निशितशस्त्रटङ्ककोटिकुट्टितबहुबृहद्वर्णाक्षरपङ्क्तिनिरन्तरया H. C. p. 189.
8. धवलदन्तपत्रिकाद्युतिहसितकपोलभित्तिना H. C. p. 21.
9. त्रिकण्टकर्णाभरणस्य प्रेङ्खतः प्रभया H. C. p. 22.
   काश्चिदुद्धूयमानधवलचामरसटालमत्रिकण्टकवलितविकटकटाक्षाः H. C. p. 133.

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blue[1], Bālikās with three pearls inset[2], Taraṅgakas effulgent with Padmarāga stones,[3] and Maṇikarṇikas made of brown glassy stones.[4] Of these the Dantapatras are worn on only one ear[5] while the others are worn in pairs; sometimes a Trikaṇṭaka is worn on one ear with another jewel of blue stone to match it on the other.[6] Of the different bracelets refined and unrefined in material and workmanship, the golden one with emeralds inset and ornamented with Makara design,[7] the Padmarāgavalaya[8] and the Keyūra[9] belong to the former class, while the one with the gems of the Godanta serpent inset in a frame work of lead is typical of the second class[10] being generally worn by primitive people like the hunters. Of the necklaces, the one of tiger's claws mounted on gold ornamentations,[11] the string of coral beads[12] and the Ekavalī deserve mention. Of the other ornaments, Caṭulātilaka[13] and Cūḍāmaṇimakarikā[14] are worthy of note. The former is a kind of ornamentation for the head going right up the parting line of the hair and running down the forehead to

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1. नीलीरागनिहितनीलिम्ना शितिगलांशितिना वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण H. C. p. 32.
2. बकुलफलानुकारिणीभिस्तिसृभिर्मुक्ताभिः कल्पितेन बालिकायुगलेन H. C. p. 32.
3. तरङ्गकं नाम कर्णाभरणम् H. C. p. 218.
4. पिनद्धकाचरकाचमणिकर्णिकेन श्रवणेन शोभमानम् H. C. p. 231.
5. वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण H. C. p. 32
6. एकेनेन्द्रनीलकुण्डलांशुश्यामलितेन शैरीषार्धेतरेण च त्रिकण्टकमुक्ताफलालोकधवलितेन H. C. p. 135.
7. प्रकोष्ठनिविष्टस्यैकस्य हाटककटकस्य मरकतमकरवेदिकासनाथस्य H. C. p. 32.
8. पीनप्रकोष्ठप्रतिष्ठितपुष्पलोहवलयम् H. C. p. 135.
9. केयूररत्नकिरणदण्डैः H. C. p. 73.
10. प्रकोष्ठे प्रतिष्ठां गतं गोदन्तमणिचित्रं त्रापुषं वलयं बिभ्राणम् H. C. p. 32.
11. हाटकबद्धविकटव्याघ्रनखपङ्क्तिमण्डितग्रीवके H. C. p. 134.
12. यथा द्वयोः सुतयोरुपरि स्तनयोरिवैकावलीलतया नितरामराजत H. C. p. 135.
13. ललाटलासकस्य सीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुलातिलकमणेरुदञ्चता चटुलेनांशुजालेन रक्तांशुकेनेव कृतशिरोऽवगुण्ठना H. C. p. 32.
14. नीलचामरावचूलिनीव चूडामणिमकरिकासनाथा H. C. p. 33.

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the ear on both sides, thus forming a trident shape;[1] while the latter is a type of of jewel for the top of the braid.[2] Bāṇa is aware of other minor ornamentations like the Lalāṭikā[3] effected with the help of sandal paste, the Pulakabandha[4]—a dexterous dotting of different colour drops on the body, the Tilakabindumudrā[5]—a kind of circular mark on the forehead.

These are, indeed, a few of the many arts known to Bāṇa and do not exhaust the list. For instance, he refers in one place to a Carmaputrikā[6] thus hinting the high order of craftsmanship in leather work[7]; elsewhere to fine artistic execution of drinking vessels out of such materials as shell and Galvarka gem;[8] to beautiful skins from the country, Kārdaraṅga, all embroidered in gold and preserved in excellent covers;[9] to thin delicate garments all decorated with drawings and pictures.[10] As a born artist he had the curiosity to note all these divers arts and he has recorded his observations for posterity. His peculiar pride in his Art

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1. Called தலை ஸாமான் (சுட்டி பட்டம்) in Tamil and పాపిడి బింబలు in Telugu.

2. Called நாகர் in Tamil and నాగరం in Telugu.

3. लिखितललाटिकापुण्ड्रकै: H. C. p. 46.

4. कुसुम्भरागपाटलं पुलकबन्धचित्रम् H. C. p. 32.

5. तमालश्यामलेन मृगमदामोदनिष्यन्दिना तिलकबिन्दुना मुद्रितमिव मनोभवसर्वस्वं वदनमुद्वहन्ती H. C. p. 32.

6. न निजकलत्रच पुत्रिकासु H. C. p. 55.

7. The Carmaputrikā is known as தோல் பாவை in Tamil and తోలు బొమ్మ in Telugu and its very popular nature accounts for its being preserved to this day as a distinct art in the Bommalāṭṭam (பொம்மலாட்டம்) of the Tamils and the Bommalāṭa (బొమ్మలాట) of the Telugus. Specimens of flat figures made of leather used in Jāvanese shadow plays (Chāyā Nāṭaka) are to be seen in the Adyar library.

8. कुशलशिल्पिलोकोल्लिखितानां शुक्तिशङ्खगल्वर्कप्रमुखानां पानभाजनानां निचयम् H. C. p. 217.

9. निचोलकरक्षितरूचां च रुचिरलाञ्छनपत्रभङ्गुराणामतिबन्धुरपरिवेशानां कार्दरङ्गकर्मणां संभारम् H. C. p. 217.

10. भूर्जत्वक्कोमला: स्पर्शवती: जातिपट्टिका: चित्रपटानां च म्रदीयसां समूरुकोपधानादीन् विकारान् H, C. p. 217.

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(Śilpa) is clear in his styling artists Vijñānins and the Citraśālā Viśvakarmagṛha.[1]

As a man of restraint he does not lose himself in the quagmire of over-enthusiasm. While fully appreciating art he is alive to its limitations. He knows that pictures are easily destroyed by smoke,[2] that as shadows of originals they could at best please the ocular sense alone.[3] That pictures are mere representations and never possess an atom of real life or vigour is readily given out by Bāṇa when he says that a Citradhanus is after all a Citradhanus (a picture) and never of any real use.[4] Though fully aware of the stolid state of pictures, which is no doubt a weakness unavoidable, he does not, like the modern Futurists, attempt representation of fantastic repetition of form, an amusing example of which is 'A lady and her dog' by Giacomo Balla. Thus this short note attempts to show Bāṇa's strong artistic leanings and genius. It would not, I hope, be too preposterous a claim if I hold him to be at least as great an artist as he is a literati.

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1. विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः H. C. p. 97.

2. परामर्शधूमलेखा सच्चरितचित्राणाम् Kā. p. 201.

Compare Rājaśekhara's version of the same thing—

निर्यद्वासरजीवपिण्डकरुणां विभ्रत्कवोष्णैः करै-
र्माञ्जिष्ठं रविबिम्बमम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।
किञ्च स्तोकतमःकलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मना-
ग्धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगज्जायते ॥

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Act II, 22 and Bālabhārata, Act I, 22.

3. आलेख्यगतामिव दर्शनमात्रफलाम् Kā. p. 23.
दर्शनीयस्याप्यालेख्यकुसुमस्येव निष्फलजन्मनः H. C. p. 23.

4. चित्रधनुष इवालीकगुणाध्यारोपणैकक्रियानित्यनम्रस्य निर्वाणतेजसः H. C. p. 223.

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EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY.

(Continued from page 183, Vol. VI, J. O. R. M.)

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI,

Mylapore.

=एवमनुमानविषयाणां परोक्षाणां भावानामनुमानेन तथैव साधनमविसंवादि । यथा अनित्यत्वादीनाम् । अननुमेयस्य अननुमेयत्वं सिद्धमित्यत अनुमानेनाबाधितमविसंवादि । यथा प्रधानेश्वरादीनाम् ।

de. rnams. kyi. raṅ. bshin. du. gyur. pai, chos. ni. rtag. pa. ma. yin. te| dei. raṅ. bshin. ñid. bsgrub. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so|| hbras. bur. gyur. pa. yaṅ. ma. yin. te| rtag. pa. la. hbras. bu yod. pa. ma. yin. pas. so|| de. ltar. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dṅos. po. la. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pas. mi. bslu. ba. yin. no||

=न हि तेषां स्वभावभूतो धर्मः सिद्धः । तत्स्वभावत्वस्य साध्यत्वात् । नापि कार्यभूतः । सिद्धस्य कार्यभावाभावात् । एवं परोक्षस्य वस्तुन अनुमानेन अबाधनमविसंवादि ।

de. bshin. du. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dṅos. po. la. luṅ. gi. stobs. kyis. hjug. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. ni. bslu. ba. [ma.] yin. te| hdi. ltar. dṅos. poi. stobs. kyis . hjug. pai. thsad. ma. gñis. kyi. yul. rnam. par. dag. pai. phyis. kyi. phyis thsad. mar. khas. blaṅs. bai. bstan. bcos. kyi. rnam. par. bshag. pai. chos. can. la. sṅa. phyii. hgal. ba. yod. med. dpyad. pas. gaṅ. gi. thse. bsam. pai. khyad. par. can. hjug. na. dei. thse. luṅ. la. brten. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. gnod. par. hgyur. pa. yin. no||

=तथा परोक्षस्य वस्तुनः आगमबलप्रवृत्तानुमानेन अबाधनमविसंवादि । यतः वस्तुबलप्रवृत्तविशुद्धविषयकप्रमाणद्वयबाध्यप्रमाणाङ्गीकर्तृशास्त्रव्यवस्थितधर्मिणि पूर्वापरविरुद्धसदसद्विचारेण यदाशयविशेषयुक्तः प्रवर्तते तदागमाश्रितानुमानेन बाध्यते ? ;

de. lta. bui. rjes. su. dpag. pa. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. (f. 134a) pai. dṅos. po. la. gnod. pa. med. na. mi. bslu. ba. ste| dper. na. hdod. chags. la. sogs. pai. raṅ. bshiu. can. daṅ| de. las. byuṅ.

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bai. chos. ma. yin. pa. khas. blaṅs. na. de. spaṅ. bai. don. du. sbyin. sdig. la. sogs. pa. mi. ston. pa. gaṅ yiṅ. pa. de. ni. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. yin. te| hdi. ltar. mu. (xyl.: lu.) stegs pas. hdod. chags. daṅ| she. sdaṅ. daṅ| gti. mug. daṅ| de. las. byuṅ. bai. lus. daṅ. ṅag. gi. las. chos. ma. yin. par. brjod. la| de. spaṅ. bai. phyir. rten. la. khrus. byas. pa. daṅ| sbyin. sreg. daṅ| smyuṅ. bar. gnas. pa. la. sogs. pa. byed. pa. yin. no|| de. ltar. mi. brjod, pa. gaṅ. yin. pa. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba. ste| hdi. ltar. khrus. byed. pa. la. sogs. pas. sdig. pa. sel. bar. mi. hgyur. te| hdod. chags. la. sogs. pai. sdig. pa. daṅ. hgal. ba. med. pas. so| gaṅ. daṅ. gaṅ. rgyu. la. gnod. par. mi. hgyur. te| dei. gnod. par. byed. pa. ma. yin. te| dper. na. mṅar. ba. daṅ| bsil. ba. daṅ| snum. pai. rdsas. rnams. bad. kan. gyi. nad. la. mi. gnod. pa. bshin. du. khrus. byed. pa. la. sogs. pas. kyaṅ. sdig. pai. rgyu. rnams. la. gnod. pa. ma. yin. te| des. phyii. dri. ma. kho. na. dag. par. hgyur. gyi| naṅ (xyl.: nad) gi. hdod. chags. la. sogs. pa. ma. yin. no||

=एवंविधानुमानमत्यन्तपरोक्षस्य वस्तुनः अबाधकमविसंवादि । यथा रागादिस्वभावकतत्प्रभवबाधर्मोपादातुः तत्प्रहाणार्थं यत् दानं पापाद्यकथनं तत् अनुमानेन अबावितम् । तथा तीर्थिकेन रागद्वेषमोहाः तत्प्रभवं कायिकं वाचिकं च कर्म अधर्म उक्तम् । तत्प्रहाणाय तीर्थ (?=rten.) स्नानहोमोपोषथादिकरणं च इत्येवमनभिधायकं यत् तत् अविसंवादि । तथा हि । स्नानादिना पापशोधनं न भवति । रागादिपापेन विरोधाभावात् । यत् यत्कारणबाधकं न भवति[तत्] तद्बाधकं न भवति । यथा मधुरशीतस्निग्धद्रव्याणि श्लेष्मरोगं न बाधन्ते । तथा स्नानाद्यपि पापहेतूनामबाधकम् । तत् बाह्यमेव मलं शोधयति । नान्तरं रागादि ।

de. ltar. luṅ. gaṅ. la. yul. yoṅs. su. dag. pa. yod. pa. de. ni. mi. slu. ba. yin. pas. hjig. rten. pai. rjes. su. hbraṅs. nas. thsad. ma. yin. te| hjig. rten. pas. yul. yoṅs. su. dag. pai. thsig. kho. na. thsad. mar. hdod. pas. so|| de. ltar. luṅ. thsad. mar. khas. blaṅs. pas. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. luṅ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid. du. ṅes. pas. des. mdsad. pai. bstan. bcos. luṅ. phyin. ci. ma. log. par. hchad. pa. mthoṅ. bai. sgo. nas. de. kho. na. ñid. ṅes. pa. ni. rigs. pa. ñid. yin. no||

=एवं यस्यागमस्य विषयः परिशुद्धो भवति स ह्यविसंवादीति लोकानुरोधात् प्रमाणम् । लोकेन परिशुद्धविषयकवाक्यस्यैव प्रमाणतया इष्टत्वात् । एतादृशागमप्रामाण्याभ्युपगमेन आर्यनागार्जुनपादव्याकरणं सत्यतया निश्चितमिति तत्प्रणीतस्य शास्त्रस्याविपरीतागमव्याख्यातुर्दर्शनद्वारा तत्त्वनिश्चयो युज्यत एव ।

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de. ñid. kyi. phyir. rnam. hgrel. las|
hgrol. dań. ni. rjes. su. mthun. thabs|
skyes. bui. don. ni. rjod. par. byed|
ńag. de. dpyad. par. hos. pa. yin|
de. las. gshan. pa. dpyad. hos. min||
mńon (f. 134b) sum. dań. ni. rjes. su. dpag|
rnam. pa. gñis. kyi. mi. gnod. pa|
mthoń. dań. ma. mthoń. don. dag. la|
don. de. la. ni. slu. ma. yin|| shes. gsuńs. to||

=अत एवोक्तं वार्तिके ।

संमोक्षानुगुणोपायं पुरुषार्थाभिधायकम् ।
परीक्षायोग्यं वाक्यं तत् न परीक्ष्यमतः परम् ॥
प्रत्यक्षानुमितिभ्यां च द्विविधाभ्यामबाधितम् ।
दृष्टादृष्टार्थयोरर्थे विसंवदति तत्र न ॥ इति ।

ci. ltar. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. yońs. su. gcod. par. nus. pa. mńon. sum. dań. rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. bai. don. la. mi. bslu. ba. de. bshin. du. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yań. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. mi. bslu. ba. yin. no|| des. na. ñes. pa. zad. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. kyi. rtags. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yań. skye. bai. blos. yań. rjes. su. dpag. pa. ñid. yin. no|| hjig. rten. pai. thsad. mas. rnam. pa. de. lta. bu. yin. te| hdi. ltar. gań. ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luń. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. rtogs. pa. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba. yin. te| dper. na. mńon. sum. dań. rjes. su. dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai. don. rtogs. pa. bshin. no|| śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yań. ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luń. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. pai. rtogs. pa. yin. no|| shes. pai. rigs. pas. śin. tu. [lkog. tu.] gyur. pai. don. la. luń. thsad. ma. yin. no||

=यथा क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यं परिच्छोत्तुं शक्ये प्रत्यक्षे अनुमेये चार्थे अविसंवादि तथा अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यमविसंवादि । तेन क्षीणदोषलक्षणलिङ्ग[त्] । अत्यन्तपरोक्षमर्थमपि उत्पन्नमतिः अनुमिनोत्येव । लौकिकप्रमाणेन एवंविधम् । तथा हि । यत् यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य ज्ञायते तदविसंवादि यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामधिगन्तव्योऽर्थोऽधिगम्यते । अत्यन्त परोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि यथोक्तागमविशेषाश्रया बुद्धिः इति न्यायेन अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थे आगमः प्रमाणम् ।

mńon. sum. dań. rjes. su. dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai. gnas. gñis. gań. gis. gsuńs. pa. de. ñid. kyis. gnas. gsum. pa.

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gsuṅs. so. shes. pa. de. la. ṅes. pa. ga. la. yod| des. na. ci. skad. gsuṅs. pai. luṅ. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. shes. pai. gtan. thsigs. de. la. ṅes. pa. [ma.] yin. no. she. na| skyon. hdi. yod. pa. ma. yin. te| gaṅ. ston. pa. daṅ. ñe. bai. ñan. pa. po. de. rnams. kyis. gnas. gsum. ka. ston. pa. po. gcig. gis. bstan. pas. mṅon. sum. kho. nas. rtogs. par. hgyur. gyi| de. rnams. la. the. thsom. yod. pa. ni. ma. yin. no|| da. ltar. gyi. ñan. pa. po. rnams. kyis. ni, bcom. ldan. hdas. kyis. gsuṅs. pai. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi. mthsan. ñid. kyis. so||

=प्रत्यक्षानुमानाधिगन्तव्यं स्थानद्वयं येन उक्तम्। तेनैव तृतीयं स्थानमुक्तमित्यत्र निश्चयः कुतः। तेन यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य इत्यस्य हेतोः [न] निश्चयः इति चेत्। नैष दोषः। ये शास्तुरुपासीनाः श्रोतारः तैः स्थानत्रयमेकेनैव शास्त्रा देशितमिति प्रत्यक्षेणैवावबुध्यते। न तु तेषां संशयोऽस्ति। अद्यतनश्रोतृभिश्च भगवतोक्तस्य क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणात्।

de. ltar. yaṅ. bcom. ldan. hdas. kyi[s]gaṅ. mdo. sde. la. sogs. pa. la. hjug. pa. daṅ| hdu. byed. thams. cad. skad. cig. ma| chos. thams. cad. bdag. med. pa| mya. ṅan. las. hdas. pa. thams. cad. shi. bao|| shes. chos. ñid. rnam. pa. gsum. daṅ [f. 135*a*] hgal. bar. mi. byed. pa. ste| myaṅ (xyl.; ṅas) hdas. kyaṅ. khyed. rnams. kyis. saṅs. rgyas. gyis. gsuṅs. pa. yin. no. shes. gzuṅ. bar. byao|| gnas. gsum. pa. yaṅ. chos. ñid. daṅ. mi. hgal. bar. gnas. pa. yin. no|| kun. rdog. tu. skad. cig. ma. daṅ. bdag. med. pa. daṅ. ldan. par. gnas. gsum. bstan. pa. yin. pas. so|| chos. ñid. daṅ. hgal. ba ni, ñes. pa. zad. pas. gsuṅs. pa. ñid. du. khas. mi. len. pas. so|| gal. te. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi. mthsan. ñid. hdi. ñes. pa. zad. pas. gsuṅs yod. pa. shes. gaṅ. las. ṅes. she. na| rigs. pa. yin. pas. so|| gaṅ. thams. cad. du. rigs. pa. brjod. pa. de. ñid. ñes. pa. zad. pa. yin. no. shes. pa. ni. shar. la. hoṅs. pas. chog. go||

=एवं च यत् भगवता सूत्रान्तादौ अवतारितम्। क्षणिकास्सर्वसंस्काराः सर्वधर्मा निरात्मकाः। निर्वाणं सर्वोपशमम्। इति त्रिविधा धर्मता [तत्]अविरुद्धम्। निर्वाणमपि बुद्धोक्तमिति युष्माभिः ग्रहीतव्यम्। तृतीयं स्थानमपि धर्मताविरुद्धं स्थानम्। सर्वत्र क्षणिकनिरात्मवैशिष्ट्येन स्थानत्रयदेशनात्। धर्मताविरोधस्य क्षीणदोषोक्तत्वेन अनभ्युपगमात्। क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणमिदं क्षीणदोषोक्तमिति कुतो निश्चय इति चेत्। न्यायसत्त्वात्। यः सर्वत्र युक्तं वदति स एव क्षीणदोष इत्यलं प्रसङ्गागतेन।

de. (xyl.: da.) ltar. luṅ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. grub. pas. hphags. klu. sgrub. shabs. luṅ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid. du. ṅes. par. des.

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gsuṅs. pai. luṅ. hchad. pa. phyin. ci. ma. log. pai. bstan. bcos. kyi. sgo. nas. de. lon- ñid. ṅes. par. rigs. pa. yin. no|| yaṅ. na. gtso. boi. don. stoṅ. pa. ñid. la. mṅon. sum. daṅ. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. shes. mthsan. ñid. can. mi. bslu. bas. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pa. gshan. la. yaṅ. mi. bslu. bai. phyir. luṅ. thsad. ma. ñid. yin. no|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. gtso. boi. don. la. mi. bslu. bas. rjes. su. dpag. pa. gshan. lahaṅ. shes. gsuṅs. pa. yin. te| luṅ. mi. bslu. ba. ñid. du. grub. pas. gaṅ. gi. gsuṅs. pa. de. yaṅ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. grub. pa. yin. no||

=एवमागमप्रामाण्यसिद्धया आर्यनागार्जुनपादव्याकरणं तथ्यत्वेन निश्चितमिति तदुक्तेनागमाविपरीतव्याख्यातृशास्त्रेण तदर्थता- (lon=अर्थ ?) निश्चयो युज्यते । अथवा प्रधानार्थशून्यतायां प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामबाधलक्षणाविसंवादेन अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽन्यस्मिन्नपि अविसंवादित्वात् आगमः प्रमाणमेव । अत एवोक्तम् । 'प्रधानार्थेऽविसंवादादनुमानान्तरेऽपि च' इति । आगमः अविसंवादितया सिद्ध इति यस्योक्तिः सापि प्रमाणतया सिद्धा ।

de. ltar. thabs. gaṅ. gis. śes. rab. skye. ba. de. bstan. zin. to|| da. ni. stoṅ. pa. ñid. ston. pai. snod. bstan. par. byai. phyir. rten. ciṅ. hbrel. bar. hbyuṅ. ba. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuṅs. te| hbras. bu. can. gyi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rten. ciṅ. hbrel. bar. hbyuṅ. ba. yaṅ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. ni. skye. ba. med. pa. yin. pas. ston. pa. ni. khoṅ. du. chud. pai. byed. pai. hbras. bu. gaṅ. la. yod. pa. de. skad. ces. byao||

=एवं येन उपायेन प्रज्ञा उत्पद्यते स उक्तः । अधुना शून्यतादेशनाभाजनप्रतिपादनायाह । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादेत्यादि । फलकेति । यथाभूतः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः अनुत्पाद इति देशना व्युत्पादनं फलं यस्मिन्नस्ति तत्तथोक्तम् ।

(f. 135b, L. 5) de. [la] log. par. shugs. pai. bsaṁ. pa. daṅ. ldan. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni dmigs. par. gyur. pai. dṅos. po. rnams. stoṅ. pa. ñid. ci. ltar. yin. sñam. du. dṅos. po. la. dmigs. pai. sgo. nas. stoṅ. pa. ñid. la. gśe. bai. bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| yaṅ. na. dṅos. po. chad. pai. raṅ. bshin. can. stoṅ. pa. ñid. yin. par. rtogs. nas. gdod. nas. skye. ba. med. pai. stoṅ. pa. ñid. la. gśe. bai. bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| don. ma. yin. pa. chen. po. daṅ. ldan. pai. phyir. ro|| shes. bya. ba. ni. dṅos. po. med. pai. stoṅ. pa. ñid. kyi, don. ma. śes. pas. dam. pai. chos. kyis. hphoṅs.pai. lam. gyis. ṅes. par. ṅaṅ. soṅ. du. hgro. bar hgyur. ba. yin. pas. so|| de ñid. rgyas. par. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir|| res. hgah. ni. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuṅs. te| mi. mkhas. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. stoṅ. pa

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ñid. yaṅ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. bshin. du. mi. śes. pas. so|| stoṅ. pa. ñid. spaṅs. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. dṅos. po. la. mṅon. par. shen. pai. sgo. nas. so|| stoṅ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. ni. med. pa. yin. no. shes. bya. ba. ni. rgyu. daṅ. hbras. bu. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pa. ni. stoṅ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. yin. no. sñam. nas. phyin. ci. log. tu. ṅes. pas. so|| dṅos. po. thams. cad. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. rgyu. daṅ. hbras. bu. la. sogs. pa. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pas. so|| de. ñid. kyi. (f. 136*a*) phyir. rtsa. bai. śes. rab. las.

bzuṅ. bar. dkah. bai. sprul. daṅ. ni|
legs. par. ma. bzuṅ. rig. sṅags. bshin|
stoṅ. pa. ñid. log. par. rtogs. pa. yis|
blo. gros. dman. pa. rlag. par. byed||
chos. hdi. blo. grcs. dman. pa. yis|
rtogs. par. dkah. ba. mkhyen. nas. su|
de. bas. thub. pas. chos. . . . |
thugs. ni. btaṅ. sñoms. mzad. pa. yin|| shes. gsuṅs. so||

lhag. par. mos. pai. khyad. par. ṅes. par. byas. te. shes. bya. ba. ni. stoṅ. pa. ñid. la. mos. pai. khyad. par. ṅes. mdsad. de. shes. pai. don. to||

=तत्र प्रतिपन्नविपरीताशयशाल्त्विेति । उपलब्धानां भावानां शून्यता कथम् इति भावोपलम्भनद्वारा शून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् । अथवा भावोच्छेद-स्वभावा शून्यता इत्यधिगमेन आदित उत्पत्तिरहितशून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् । महानर्थयोगादिति । भावाभावशून्यतार्थाज्ञानात् सद्धर्मविपन्नमार्गेण नूनं दुर्गतिं गमिष्यतीति । तदेव विस्तरेण प्रतिपादयितुमाह । कदाचिदित्यादि । अपण्डित इति । यथाभूतशून्यताज्ञानात् । शून्यतां विहायेति । भावाभिनिवेशद्वारा । शून्यतार्थ अभाव इति । हेतुफलापवादः शून्यतार्थ इति विपरीतनिश्चयात् । सर्वभावाप-वादेति । हेतुफलापवादात् । अत एवेक्तं प्रज्ञामूले

विनाशयति दुर्दृष्टा शून्यता मन्दमेधसम् ।
सर्पो यथा दुर्गृहीतो विद्या वा दुष्प्रसाधिता ॥
अतश्च प्रत्युदावृत्तं चित्तं देशयितुं मुनेः ।
धर्मं मत्वास्य धर्मस्य मन्दैर्दुरवगाहताम् ॥ इति ।

(Madhyamaka Śāstra, XXIV, 11, 12.)

अधिमुक्तिविशेषं निश्चित्येति । शून्यतायामधिमुक्तिविशेषनिश्चयं कृत्वेत्यर्थः ॥ ३ ॥

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(f. 136*a*, L. 5) de. le. shes. bya. ba. ni. rab. tu. dgah. ba. ldan. pa. lao|

=तस्येति । प्रमोदविशिष्टस्य ।

(L. 6) rjes. su. hgro. ba. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. ñe. bar. bstan. pai. rgyu. yin. no| yon. tan. hbyuṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. thsul. khrims. la. sogs. pao||

=अन्वयेति । तत्त्वोपदेशकारणाः ।

गुणा भवन्तीति । शीलादयः ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥

(f. 136*b*, L. 2) hbras. bu. dpag. tu. med. pa. rnam. pa[r]. chud. pa. med. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. saṅs. rgyas. ñid. du. bsṅos. pai. sbyin. pai. sbyin. pa. la. sogs. pa. rnams. mi. zad. pai. phyir|| cii. phyir. byaṅ. chub. ñid. du. bsṅo. bar. bya. she. na| dei. phyir. hgro. ba. dgrol. bar. bya. bai. phyir. shes. bya. ba. smos. te| saṅs. rgyas. su. gyur. nas. hgro. ba. rnams. dgrol. bar. byao. shes. pai. don. to|

=अमेयाविच्छिन्नफलेति । बुद्धत्वपरिणामदत्तदानादीनामविनाशात् । किमर्थं बोधित्वपरिणामना कार्या । अत आह जगद्विमुक्तय इति । बुद्धो भूत्वा जगन्ति विमोक्तव्यानीत्यर्थः ॥ ६ ॥

da. (xyl.; de.) ni. de. kho. na. ñid. bstan. pai. hbras. bui. khyad. par. brjod. par. bya. bai. phyir| de. ltar. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuṅs. te|

=इदानीं तत्त्वोपदेशफलविशेषकथनायाह । एवमित्यादि ।

(L. 6.) lam. hdi. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. ston. pai. raṅ. bshin. can. no|| de. la. de. kho. na. ñid. ni. gaṅ. zag. gi. bdag. med. pa. daṅ| chos. kyi. bdag. med. pa. la. byao|| de. yaṅ. hdi. la. luṅ. daṅ. rigs. pas. bsgrub. par. bstan. pa. yin. pas. de. la. luṅ. gis. bsgrub. pa. bstan. par. byai. phyir| de. la. chos. kyi. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| yaṅ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. (f. 137*a*) ces. pai. don. to||

=इदं वर्त्मकमिति । तत्त्वदेशनास्वभावकम् । तत्र तत्त्वं पुद्गलनैरात्म्यं धर्मनैरात्म्यं च । तस्य चात्र युक्त्वागमाभ्यां सिद्धिप्रतिपादनात् तत्रागमेन सिद्धिप्रतिपादनायाह । तत्र धर्मणामित्यादि । यथाभूतत्वेति । तत्त्वमित्यर्थः ।

ña. pa. la. lam. śin. tu. yoṅs. su. rdsogs. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. drug. pa. la. hjug. pai. bsam. gtan. gyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin. pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. lam. yoṅs. su. rdsogs. pas. so|| hdii.

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don. ni. sa. drug. par. śes. rab. śin. tu. lhag. par. hgyur. ba. yin. la| de. yaṅ. bsam. gtan. gyi. stobs. kyis. yin. te| sems. mñam. daṅ. bshag. pas. yaṅ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. bshin. du. rab. tu. śes. so. shes. gsuṅs. pas. so|| chos. mñam. pa. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. chos. te| phuṅ. po. daṅ| khams. daṅ| skye. mched. rnams. mthsan. ma. med. la. sogs. pai. ṅo. bo. ñid. yin. pas. mñam. pa. ñid. yin. no. shes. pai. don. to||

=पञ्चम्यां [बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ] सुपरिपूर्णमार्ग इति । षष्ठीं भूमिमवतीर्णस्य ध्यानपारमितालक्षणमार्गपरिशुद्धत्वा । अस्यार्थः । षष्ठभूमौ प्रज्ञा अत्यधिका भवति । सा च ध्यानबलेन । सामहितचित्तो यथाभूतं प्रजानाति इत्युक्तत्वात् । धर्मसमतेति । धर्माः स्कन्धधात्वायतनानि अनिमित्तादिस्वभावतया समा एवेत्यर्थः ।

mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa. ñid. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gaṅ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. rtog. pa. daṅ. bral. bslus. pa. med. pa. chos. kyi. dbyiṅs. de. mthsan. ma. med. pa. ste| rnam. par. rtog. pai. śes. pa. thams. cad. kyi. yul. ma. yin. pas. so|| des. na. chos. thams. cad. mthsan. ma. med. pa. shes. brjod. pa. ñid. yin. no|| dei. phyir. chos. thams. cad. yoṅs. su. grub. pai. bdag. ñid. can. yin. pas. mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa. ñid. yin. no|| mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gaṅ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. brjod. par. bya. ba. daṅ| brjod. par. byed. pai. bdag. ñid. gzuṅ. ba. daṅ| hdsin. pai. rnam. pa. can. gyi. chos. de. thams. cad. śin. tu. med. pa. ñid. yin. pai. phyir. kun. tu. brtag. pai. mthsan. ñid. des. [na] mthsan. ñid. med. pa. yin. pas. mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do||

=अनिमित्तसमतयेति । यः परिकलितः (कल्पनारहितः अमोष?) धर्मा धातुः स अनिमित्तः । सर्वविकल्पज्ञानविषयत्वाभावात् । तेन सर्वधर्म अनिमित्त इत्युक्तम् । तस्मात् सर्वधर्मः परिनिष्पन्नात्मक इत्यनिमित्तसमता । अलक्षणसमतयेति । यः परिकल्पितःअभिधेयाभिधानात्मग्राह्यग्राहकाकारो धर्मः स सर्व अत्यन्तमसत्त्वात् परिकल्पितलक्षणः । तेन लक्षणाभावात् अलक्षणसमता ।

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Ex. *Aṭaṉiṉ-iyaṟal.*

Poṉṉāṉ iyaṉṟa paṭṭam. (Puṟa. 3, Comm.)
(Frontlet [of an elephant] made of gold.)

Aṭaṟṟaku-kiḷavi.

Pal-yāṉai-y-um *ampoṭu* tuḷaṅki. (Puṟa. 63.)
(Many elephants having been shattered with arrows.)
Kūṟṟattai-k-*kaiyāl* viḷittaṟṟṟū, (Kuṟaḷ, 894.)
(It is similar to inviting the God of Death with hands.)

Aṭaṉ-viṉai-p-paṭutaḻ.

Neyyoṭu tuṟanta mai-y-iruṅ-kūntal. (Puṟa. 147.)
(The black flowing tresses of a woman deprived of oil.)
Pacalaiyāḷ uṇappaṭṭāḷ. (Kalit. 48.)
(She is filled with beauty-spots on her skin.)

Aṭaṉiṉ-ātal.

Kaḷaviṉāl ākiya v-ākkam. (Kuṟaḷ, 283.)
(Property made through theft.)

Aṭaṉiṟ-kōṭal.

Ilaṅkutā *ḷaruvi y-ōṭ* aṇi-koṇṭa niṉ-malai. (Kalit. 46.)
(Your mountain beautified by the shining and flowing stream.)

Aṭaṉoṭu-mayaṅkal.

Vēmpi ṉ-oṇṭaḷir.
Neṭuṅ-koṭi *y-uḷiñai-p pavaroṭu* milaintu. (Puṟa. 77.)
(Having worn the shining sprouts of margosa tree with a piece of the long creeper named *uḷiñai.*)
Pāloṭu kalanta nīr.
(Water mixed with milk.)

Naṉ-poṉ.
Paṉ-maṇi-k kuvai-y-oṭum viraii-k koṇṁ. (Puṟa. 152.)
(Take the fine gold along with many heaps of gems.)

Aṭaṉoṭiyainta oruviṉai-k-kiḷavi.

Kuṭa-ticai-t
Taṇ-katir matiyam pōlavum.
Niṉṟu nilaiiya r- *ulakamō* ṭ-uṭaṉē. (Puṟa. 56.)
(May you live long with all the people like the cool-rayed moon shining in the west.)
Irum-pē r- *okkaloṭu* tiṉṁ. (Puṟa. 150.)
(Eat with a wide circle of relatives.)
Pāvaṭiyāṟ ceṟaṉōkkiṉ.

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Oḷiṟu-maruppiṟ kaḷiṟavara.
Kāppuṭaiya kayam-paṭiyiṉai. (Puṟa. 15.)
(You have allowed to bathe in the ponds well attended to by them the elephants which have shining tusks and fierce look along with broad feet.)

Ataṉōṭiyainta vēṟu-viṉai-k-kiḷavi.

Toṭiyoṭu tol-kaviṉ vāṭiya tōḷ. (Kuṟaḷ, 1235.)
(The shoulder which was once bright, but has now faded with the armlets.)
Malai-y-oṭu poruta māl-yāṉai.
(The big elephant which fought with the mountain.)

Ataṉōṭiyainta oppal-oppurai.

Kolaiyiṟ koṭiyārai vēntoṟuttal paiṅkūḷ.
Kaḷai-kaṭ ṭ-ataṉoṭu nēr. (Kuṟaḷ, 550.)
(The King slaughtering the wicked is similar to the weeding of plants grown near green crops.)

Iṉṉāṉ.

Kaṇṇāṟ kottai.
(He is blind by his eye.)
Kālāl muṭavaṉ.
(He is lame by his leg.)

Note.—The expressions *kaṇṇāṟ kottai* and *kālāl muṭavaṉ* are respectively parallel to the Sanskrit sentences *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* and *pādēna khañjaḥ.*

Ētu.

Vali-miku *vekuḷiyāṉ* vāḷ-uṟṟa maṉṉarai. (Kalit. 46.)
(The kings who had taken their swords on account of their anger increased with their might.)
Maṉattāṉā māntaṟk k-uṇarcci. (Kuṟaḷ, 453.)
(Feeling is produced in men through mind.)
Nalliya-k kōṭaṉai nayanta koḷkaiyoṭu.
Muṉṉāṭ ceṉṟaṉam. (Ciṟupāṇ. 126-9.)
(We went to see Nalliyakkoṭaṉ sometime before.)

Note 1.—Sometimes a verbal participle (viṉai-y-eccam with a noun in the objective case is used instead of a noun in the instrumental case.

Ex. Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-eyil l-uṭaṟṟi.
(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Here the word *koṇṭu* is used to signify that *kaṇai* is the instrument of *uṭaṟṟi.* Here *kaṇai* is in the objective case governing

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the transitive verb *koṇṭu*. But later on words like *kaṇai-koṇṭu* were taken as one word under the misapprehension that the word *kaṇai* was the base of the noun instead of a noun in the objective case with the case-suffix dropped. Then the word *koṇṭu* was taken as a *collurupu* (a word used as a case-suffix). cf. the commentary on the line 'Nallār-uṟuppelāṅ *koṇṭ* iyaṟṟiyāḷ kol'. (Kalit. 56.)

Note 2.—From the statement '*ataṉo ṭiyaiṉta v-oru-viṉai-k kiḷavi*' in the sūtra one may think that the expressions '*āciriyaṉotu māṇākkaṉ vantāṉ*' (pupil came with the teacher) and '*māṇākkaṉoṭu āciriyaṉ vantāṉ*' (teacher came with the pupil) were grammatically correct. But the sūtra '*Oru-viṉai y-oṭu-c-col l-uyar-piṉ vaḷitlē* (Col. 91) restricts the use of the suffix *oṭu* only to be used along with the noun denoting the superior. This is one of the points where ancient Tamil differed from Sanskrit, where the third case-suffix is used along with the noun denoting the inferior cf. *saha-yuktē apradhāne* (Pāṇini Aṣṭ. II, iii, 19). But in later Tamil the ancient restriction was not attended to and hence we see the sentence '*vanta nampiyai-t tampi taṉṉotu*' (the lord who came with his brother) in Kamparāmāyaṇam where *nampi* refers to *Rāma* and *tampi* refers to *Lakṣmaṇa*.

Note 3.—The expression '*iṉṉāṉ-ētu*' is split by Iḷampūraṇar into two parts '*iṉṉāṉ*' and *ētu* which respectively mean 'one of such description' and 'cause'. The examples given by him under '*iṉṉāṉ*' are '*kaṇṇāṟ kottai*' and '*kālāl muṭavaṉ*'. Cēṉāvaraiyar, on the other hand takes '*iṉṉāṉ-ētu*' as a compound word to mean *ētu* which is denoted both by the suffixes *iṉ* and *āṉ* (*i.e.*) the *jñāpaka-hētu* and condemns Iḷampūraṇar that the word '*iṉṉāṉ*' cannot denote a person who is to be described with reference to his limbs. Such examples in his opinion come under *aṉṉa-piṟavum* in the sūtra. Nacciṉārkkiniyar seems to agree with him. But the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar, seems to be better since the word *ētu* here can mean only *jñāpaka-hētu*, the *kāraka-hētu* having been mentioned by *ataṟṟaku-kiḷavi*.

Teyvaccilaiyār takes *iṉṉāṉ-ētu* as three suffixes *iṉ*, *āṉ* and *ētu* and states '*pukai-y-uṇmaiyiṉ neruppuṇmai-y-aṟika*' (learn the presence of fire on account of the presence of smoke), '*pukai-y-uṇmaiyāṉ neruppuṇmai-y-aṟika*' and '*pukai-y-ētu-v-āka-neruppuṇmai-y-aṟika*' as examples. Since this sūtra deals with the specialised *meanings* of the third case-suffix whose general meaning was mentioned in the previous sūtra, such an interpretation

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of Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be far from satisfactory. Besides he states that the word *aṉṉa-piṟavum* in the sūtra refers to the words *kāraṇam, nimittam, tuṇai* and *māṟu*. This clearly shows that he mistook the words *ētu* and *aṉṉa-piṟavum* refer to *collurupu*. But Tolkāppiyaṉār has not made mention of *collurupu* in any of the sūtras found in *veṟṟumai-y-iyal*, nor *ētu* and *aṉṉā-piṟavum* can refer to *case-suffix* when the remaining portion deals with the *meaning of the case-suffix*.

Note 4.—Under '*ataṉiṉ-iyaṟal*' Iḷampūraṇar gives '*taccaṉ ceyta ciṟu-mā vaiyam* (Kuṟun. 61). (Small *vaiyam* made by carpenter). Cēṉāvaraiyar condemns this since such sentences form examples for *viṉai-muṭal* found in the previous sūtra. This seems to be fair.

Note 5.—The word *atu* in *ataṉiṉ-iyaṟal, ataṟṟaku kiḻavi* etc. refers to the object denoted by the word which takes the third-case-suffix.

Note 6.—Such examples as '*mati-yoṭu okkum mukam*' (the face compares itself with moon) where *oṭu* denotes comparison, '*cūloṭu kaḻutai pārañ cumantatu*' (ass carried the burden with the child in the womb) where *oṭu* is used with a word which denotes an object that is not visible, are taken under '*aṉṉa-piṟavum* by Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar. Naccinārkkiniyar in addition to them gives '*uṟaḻ-maṇiyāṉ uyar-maruppiṉa*' (they have their superior tusks with gems on them) etc. *maṉaṉ-toṭu vāymai moḻiyiṉāṉ* (straight forward expression with mind) and states that in the former *āṉ* is used in the sense of *oṭu* and in the latter *oṭu* in the sense of *āṉ*. This seems to be against the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Cēṉāvaraiyar clearly states that both *oṭu* and *āṉ* were used in all the senses mentioned above.

Note 7.—Cēṉāvaraiyar anticipates the objection made by Dr. Caldwell stated under the previous sūtra that, since there are two suffixes *oṭu* and *āṉ*, they should come under two different cases and gives two reasons for not having done so :—(1) both of them are used in all the meanings mentioned above : and (2) in Sanskrit *different* case-suffixes are taken to belong to one case if they have the *same meaning*. An objection was raised against the second. Since the vocative case is not taken as a separate case in Sanskrit and it is taken as a case by Tolkāppiyaṉār, it is not safe to bring in the analogy of Sanskrit Cēṉāvaraiyar answers this point by the statement that eight cases were mentioned in Aindra-Vyākaraṇa and Tolkāppiyaṉār has followed

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it. The latter point is supported by the statement '*aintiram niṟainta tolkāppiyam*' made in the *pāyiṟam* by Paṉampāraṉār.

Note 8.—Some read *iṅṅeṉa* for *īṅkeṉa* in the seventh line of the sūtra.

Note 9.—In the Cēṉāvaraiyam (Dāmōdaram Pillai Edn.) the sentence '*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-vēṟṟumai-y-allatu urupu-vēṟṟumaiyiṉ oru-vēṟṟumai-y-āka* ōtappaṭṭamaiyāṉum' is found. It means 'since, in Sanskrit, it is taken as one case where there are different suffixes without difference in meaning'. In the Śaiva-siddhānta edition the reading is '*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-vēṟṟumai-y-allatu urupu-vēṟṟumaiyāṉ oru-vēṟṟumaiyāka* ōtappaṭāmaiyāṉum'. This also means the same. But in the former the expression '*poruḷ-vēṟṟumai-y-allatu*' should be taken as an adjunct to *urupu* in *urupu-vēṟṟumaiyiṉ*, and in the latter it should be taken as a verbal participle modifying *ōtappaṭāmaiyāṉum*.

75. நான்கா குவதே
குஎனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
எப்பொரு ளாயினுங் கொள்ஞ மதுவே.
Nāṉkā kuvatē
Ku-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi
Ep-poru ḷ-āyiṉuṅ koḷḷu matu-v-ē.

The fourth called *ku-vēṟṟumai* denotes recipient, whatever substance it may be.

Ex. Nelli-t tīṅkaṉi . . . emakku īttaṉai-y-ē. (Puṟa. 91.)
(You gave me the sweet *nelli* fruit.)
Āṟaṟi y-antaṇark k-arumaṟai pala-pakarntu. (Kalit. 3.)
(Having taught Vēdas to brahmans who had studied six aṅgas.)

Note 1.—The significance of the expression '*ep-poruḷ-āyiṉum*' in the sūtra is, according to Iḷampūraṇar, that the recipient may be in the first person, second person or the third person. Cēṉāvaraiyar, on the other hand, states two points:—(1) Even though the word meaning 'to give' is not found in such examples as '*Māṇākkarkkū nūṟ-poruḷ uraittāṉ*' (he explained the work to his pupils), the fourth case-suffix is used after the word *māṇākkar*. (2) There are two elements in gift:—one is *svasvatva-nivṛtti* or the abandonment of the right of one's ownership and the other is *para-svatva-āpādana* or the transferring of the right of ownership to another. But in examples like '*māṇākkarkkū aṟivu koṭuttāṉ*' (he gave knowledge to pupils),

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aṟivu or knowledge, though it goes to pupils, does not leave the teacher. Still in such cases the fourth case-suffix may be used. That such usages are sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār is inferred by the expression '*e-p-poruḷ-āyiṉum*' in the sūtra. Naccinārkkiniyar repeats what has been said by Cēṉāvaraiyar.

Note. 2.—It is worthy of note that Cēṉāvaraiyar's statement '*māṇākkarkkiṉ aṟiṉu koṭuttāṉ*' and the explanation under it has its parallel in the statement of the commentator of Vākyapadīya —'*Tyāgō dānam, dīyamānasya svatvanivṛttyā aparasvatvāpādānam | 'Śūdrāya matim dadāti' ityatrāpi malisantānasya ca ēkadēśas-tyajyamāna iti svatva-nivṛtyaparasvatvāpādana-lakṣaṇē mukhya ēva dadātyarthaḥ | Anyē tu matēḥ dāna-sambandhānavagamāt gauṇa ityāhuḥ* (Vākyapadīya, Kāṇḍa 3, Kārikā 262). Cēṉāvaraiyar seems to have adopted the *gauṇārtha* of the fourth case-suffix.

76. அதற்குவினை யுடைமையி னதற்குடம் படுதலின்
அதற்குப்படு பொருளி னதுவாகு கிளவியின்
அதற்குயாப் புடைமையி னதற்பொருட் டாதலின்
நட்பிற் பகையிற் காதலிற் சிறப்பினென்று
அப்பொருட் கிளவியு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.
Ataṟku-viṉai y-uṭaimaiyi ṉ-ataṟkuṭam paṭutaliṉ
Ataṟku-p-paṭu poruḷi ṉ-atuvāku kiḷaviyiṉ
Ataṟku-yāp puṭaimaiyi ṉ-ataṟ-poruṭ ṭātaliṉ
Naṭpiṟ pakaiyiṟ kātalir ciṟappiṉ-eṉṟu
A-p-poruṭ kiḷaviyu m-ataṉ-pāla v-eṉmaṉār.

They say that the dative case denotes the object for which an action is done, the object to which one subjects himself, the object to which another is apportioned, the object of transformation, the object which is suited to another, the aim of an action, the object of friendship, enmity, love, superiority etc.

Ataṟku-viṉai-y-uṭaimai.

Ex. Piṇikku maruntu piṟa. (Kuṟaḷ, 1102.)
(Others serve as medicine to diseases.)
Vari-maṇaṟ puṉai-pāvaikku-k kuḻavi-c-ciṉaip pū-k-koytu. (Puṟa. 11.)
(Having plucked flowers from bent branches for the image made in sand-heap.)

Ataṟkuṭampaṭutal.

Cāṉṟōr kolaikku uṭampaṭṭār.
(The great fell victims to slaughter.)

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Ataṟku-p-paṭu-poruḷ.

Peru-mita-p pakaṭṭukku-ṭ tuṟai-y-u m-uṇṭō. (Puṟa. 90.)
(Is there any landing place (not suited to) a fat bull ?)

Oru-nī y-āyiṉai...niṟ perriciṉōrk-kē. (Puṟa. 125.)
(You have become the only resort for those who came to you.)

Porunarkku...cēy. (Puṟa. 14.)
(You are God Murukaṉ to those who attack you.)

Atu-v-āku-kiḷavi.

Vaḷaikku-p poṉ vāṅku.
(Purchase gold for bracelet.)

Ataṟku-yāppuṭaimai.

Pāṭiṉi pāṭum vañcikkū
Nāṭal cāṉṟa maintiṉōy. (Puṟa. 15.)
(Oh King ! who possesses valour which fits with the song sung by the lady-minstrel.)

Ataṟporuṭṭātal.

Kūḻiṟku-k kuṟṟēval ceyyum.
(He does menial service for his food.)

Naṭpū.

Vīḻunark kiṟaicci. (Kalit. 8.)
(The desired object to those who desire.)

Keṭṭārkku naṭṭār il. (Kuṟaḷ, 1293.)
(There are no friends to bad men.)

Pakai.

Cemmai-y-i ṉ-ikantorīi-p poruḷ-ceyōṟk k-a-p-poruḷ
Immaiyu maṟumaiyum pakai-y-āva t-aṟiyāyō.
(Kalit. 14.)
(Do you not know that the wealth acquired by unrighteous means serves as the source of enmity to him both in this world and in the next ?)

Kātal.

Nummoṭu
Tuṉpan tuṇai-y-āka nāṭṉ ṉ-allatu
Iṉpam-u m-uṇṭō v-emakkū.
(How can there be happiness for me unless I follow you though we would be attended upon by misery ?)

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Tantaiyar-k-ku

Aruḷ-van taṉa-v-ār puṯalvar-tam maḻalai. (Puṟa. 92.)
(The indistinct words of children gave pleasure to their parents.)

Ciṟappu.

Yām numakku-c ciṟantaṉam. (Kalit. 5.)
(We are superior to you.)

Note.—'*Iṉ*' in words like *ataṟku-viṉai-y-uṭaimaiyiṉ* is explitive.

77. ஐந்தா குவதே
இன்னெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி
இதனி னிற்றிது வென்னு மதுவே.
Aintā kuvatē
Iṉ-ṉ-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi
Iṭaṉi ṉ-iṟṟitu v-eṉṉu m-aṭu-v-ē.

The fifth case called '*iṉ-vēṟṟumai*' denotes the nature of an object in its relation to another. Comparison, contrast, separation, limit, cause etc. form the meanings of this case.

Comparison.

Ex. Kuḻavi koḷpavari ṉ-ōmpumati. (Puṟa. 5.)
(Protect like those who tend children.)

Contrast.

Payaṉ-ṟūkkār ceyta v-uṭavi nayaṉ-ṟūkkiṉ
Naṉmai kaṭaliṟ peritū. (Kuṟaḷ, 103.)
(The good deeds of those who do them without expecting any return are bigger than sea.)

Separation.

Niṉṉiṉ viṭāa niḻaṟ-pōl. (Kalit. 61.)
(Like the shadow which is never separated from you.)

Limit.

Kumariyiṉ teṟkū. (Puṟa. 6.)
(That which is south of cape comorin.)

Cause.

Aru-viṭar-c ciṟu-neṟi y-ēraliṉ varunti. (Puṟa. 135.)
(Having suffered on account of the ascent though the narrow path of the steep valley.)

78. வண்ணம் வடிவே யளவே சுவையே
தண்மை வெம்மை யச்ச மென்று
நன்மை தீமை சிறுமை பெருமை

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RĀJĒNDRA'S EXPEDITION TO THE GANGES.

BY

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Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

The illustrious Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra I (1012-45 A. D.)

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RĀJĒNDRA'S EXPEDITION TO THE GANGES.

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Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

The illustrious Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra I (1012-45 A. D.) valued nothing so much among his acts as his victorious march into northern India in quest of the holy Ganges. After the successful completion of his project he assumed the title Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa; he named the new capital built by him Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, and the great tank in its neighbourhood, which he filled with the waters of the Ganges, Cōḷagaṅgam. This tank is described in one of his inscriptions as the 'liquid pillar of victory' proclaiming his greatness to the world.

Different views have been adopted by modern scholars on the nature of the expedition. The only contemporary evidence on the point is the statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājēndra wanted by the strength of his arm to excel the achievement of Bhagīratha who brought about the descent of the Ganges from heaven by means of his austerities (*tapaḥprabhāva*), and to sanctify his country by the waters of the sacred stream. And this statement introduces the account of the second stage in the king's *digvijaya*, viz., his expedition to the North. Mr. Venkayya held that "the expedition was more in the nature of a pilgrimage," vicariously undertaken for the king's merit, by his general (*daṇḍanātha*).[1] In arriving at this conclusion he was influenced by two considerations. There was first of all the apparently incredible character of the story, as he understood it. After enumerating the thirteen countries stated to have been overrun by Rājēndra's general, of which according to him Lāḍa was Berar, and Kōsalaināḍu apparently the well-known kingdom of Kōsala (Oudh), he says: "It is difficult to imagine how all this tract of country was overcome in about a year by the Cōḷa army. There is also the difficulty of bringing all the subdued kings together to the south. These

1. A. S. I. 1911, p. 173.

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latter must have actually carried the water of the Ganges from somewhere near Allahabad, if the superstitions that now prevail were also current during the eleventh century A. D. In this connection we cannot afford to ignore the beginning of the Gāhadvāla inscription at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, the Cōḷa capital, quoted in the sequel."[1] We shall see presently that the campaign of Rājēndra's general is not so difficult to follow step by step. We may observe here that it is only by hasty and superficial assumptions regarding the geography of the campaign, and by importing into the account, the popular superstitions of to-day regarding the fetching of the water of the Ganges from Allahabad and a fragmentary Gāhadvāl introduction which occurs in an inscription of nearly a century later than the period with which we are concerned, that Mr. Venkayya reduces the story to an absurd legend, and then proceeds to offer an ingenious theory as to what, in his opinion, actually happened: "As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājēndra Cōḷa's general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded, and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome." Mr. Venkayya's conclusion was also influenced by another consideration.[2] In the commentary, by Anantaśambhu, of uncertain date, to a Tantric work called *Siddhāntasārāvaḷī* by Trilōcanaśiva, also of unknown date (but assumed by Mr. Krishna Sastri,[3] for some reason not stated, to be a contemporary of Rājēndra), Mr. Venkayya had noticed the presence of some verses stating that "Rājēndra-Cōḷa went for a bath in the Ganges, saw the best of Śaivas there, and brought them with him to settle in his own country, in Kāñcī and throughout the Cōḷa land." It is curious how so cautious a scholar succumbed to the lure of this anonymous text quoted by Anantaśambhu. Its vagueness and its unknown date, and the fact that it directly contradicts the contemporary statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that the king sent only his general to the north and himself advanced later only up to the banks of the Gōdāvarī to meet his

1. *idid.* p. 174. *See also* S. I. I. III, Introdn., p. 20.
2. *See* A. S. I. 1911-12. n. 3, p. 173 which makes this clear. *Also* p. 176.
3. S. I. I. Introdn., p. 22.

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general on his return march—present no difficulties in Mr. Venkayya's eyes, and dropping the scepticism about the campaign evinced by him at an earlier stage, he attributes large consequences to it, and writes: "The several northern kings who carried the water of the Ganges to purify his country and their connection with the South for some generations after, could not but have affected even the language of the people"[1] of the Cōḷa country proper. And so it comes about that a pilgrimage to Northern India by a band 'roving pilgrims' whose course 'cannot be easily traced at present,'[2] produces far-reaching consequences on the language and culture of the Tamil land. There may be, there are, some things incredible in Rājēndra's inscriptions relating to this campaign in quest of Ganges water; Mr. Venkayya's account of it, however, seems to contain rather more than fewer myths.

Not satisfied with Mr. Venkayya's theory of pilgrimage, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar finds another motive actuating Rājēndra in this campaign: "Rājēndra seems to have been an imaginative individual, with a great deal perhaps of the knight-errant in him, though the knight-errant part of his nature was kept well under control both of the conqueror and the statesman as we shall show presently. The notion of the Ganges water must have got into him from the knowledge of the achievements of an early Tamil ruler Śeṅguṭṭuva Śēra, the hero of the *Śilappadikāram* * * * * All the three sovereigns, Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇḍya alike of ancient fame, lay claim to having cut out their emblems on the face of the Himalayas. There was precedent for imitation as one of the early Pallava rulers lays claim similarly, may be fictitiously, to having similarly cut out his emblem on the Himalayas[3] in obvious imitation of the achievements of these predecessors of his in the south. Rājēndra, 'the Paṇḍita Cōḷa' as he is called, apparently read of these achievements and obviously wished to make a point to his credit similarly."[4] We may well

1. A. S. I. 1911-12, p. 176.
2. *ibid.* p. 174.
3. The Amarāvatī inscription of Simhavarman to which Dr. Aiyangar refers mentions, however, the Sumēru in this connection, not the Himālaya.
4. *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa Cōḷa.* pp. 547-8 (in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume III Orientalia Part. 2.)

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hesitate to accept as a fact this marvellous and somewhat suspicious coincidence between the results of modern research into the antiquities of the Śaṅgam Age and the Pallava period of South Indian history and the plans of Rājēndra.

The truth is that there seems to be nothing, or only very little, that calls for an explanation in the motives underlying this campaign of Rājēndra. Succeeding in the prime of life to a manificent heritage, well trained in the arts of war and diplomacy, as it was understood in India in the eleventh century, possessing a splendid striking force in a well-tried army, and, for the time, a powerful navy, Rājēndra did the most natural thing for a king in his situation in undertaking an extensive *digvijaya*. In its earlier stages it followed the usual path, and in less than seven years from the death of his father, he had made his power felt in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries, brought the whole of Ceylon under his sway, and waged successful war with Jayasiṁha, the Western Cāḷukya, who sustained a defeat at Muśaṅgi, identified with Uccaṅgidurg in Bellary, or Maski in the Nizam's state. After such successes, and with the command of the whole of the Vēṅgi kingdom which was a protectorate, so to say, of the Cōḷas since the restoration of Śaktivarman by Rājarāja I Cōḷa (after the interregnum of twenty-seven years, ending about 1000 A. D.), Rājēndra's mind most naturally turned to doing something more striking, to a grander exhibition of the might of the new-born power of the Cōḷas of the South to the rulers of Uttarāpatha. The fetching of the Ganges water was but a pretext; the demonstration of power and the acquisition of prestige the real motive. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say quite as much. Rājēndra's aim was to acquire for himself a name greater than that of Bhagīratha. The celebrated Eṇṇāyiram inscription,[1] of Rājēndra, in explaining the name Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ of the large feeding-house endowed by the king, records that the institution got its name from the fact that the emperor was once pleased to amuse himself by defeating the kings of the northern countries and taking the Ganges at the end of his warlike festival—*yuddhōtsava vibhavattāl gaṅgāpariggraham paṇṇiyaruḷiṉa*. It will be seen how the language of this record confirms the impression derived from the statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

1. 333 of 1917 I acknowledge gratefully the permission given me by the Archaeological Department to consult the text of this unpublished inscription.

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At the end of all his fighting, when a summary statement of his achievements came to be expressed in a brief formula to be adopted in inscriptions which did not give the long *praśasti* found in the other records, three and only three of his conquests were chosen for special mention—Pūrvadēśam, Gaṅgai, and Kaḍāram. This shows clearly that Rājēndra's ambition was to distinguish himself by novel and venturesome undertakings, the successful accomplishment of which would redound to his permanent glory. The campaign we have selected for detailed study relates to the conquest of Pūrvadēśam and Gaṅgai.

Pūrvadēśam was identified with the Vēṅgi kingdom by Mr. Venkayya.[1] This is clearly a mistake. It is doubtless the Pūrvarāṣṭra, ruled over by the kings of Śarabhapura, of whom a few undated records are known. This country was so called because, as Cunningham points out, it lay to the east of the Mēkhala mountain,[2] the Maikal range of the modern maps. It corresponds roughly to the Southern Kōsala country. We shall see that the course of Rājēndra's army lay through this territory.

Turning for a moment to the chronology of this campaign. No records of the tenth year of Rājēndra are known to mention this campaign of which we hear for the first time in detail in the inscriptions of the eleventh year.[3] This fact clearly settles the date of the campaign and fixes it A. D. 1022-3. The course of the campaign is described both in the Tamil *praśasti* usually found in Rājēndra's inscriptions, and in a number of sanskrit verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. While the two accounts agree in essentials and relate, quite obviously, to the same campaign, they yet differ in some details, in particular in the order in which the different countries of the north were taken in the march of the Cōḷa forces. These differences will be discussed presently. But on the general question of the relative authority of the two accounts, there is no difficulty in perceiving that the Tamil account which was composed almost immediately after the close of the campaign, is the more trustworthy, as it is, on the whole, more matter of fact than the Sanskrit account marked by quaint conceits and high-flown figures of speech. It must, however, be mentioned that not many years need have elapsed before the

1. A. S. I. 1911-12.
2. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 192, n. 1.
3. 167 of 1917.

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Sanskrit *praśasti* of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates was also composed; for, the latest event mentioned in it, the conquest of Kaḍāram, took place before the end of the thirteenth, or at the latest, in the fourteenth year of Rājēndra, that is about A. D. 1025-6.

We shall see that the first place to be attacked by the advancing forces of Rājēndra was Śakkarakkōṭṭam, the modern Citrakūṭa in the Bastar state. This is explained by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as the result of the expedition having started from the place to which his earlier campaigns had taken him. He says:[1] "Reverting to the details, the farthest place in this direction (to which) Rājēndra had advanced before starting on this campaign was Koḷḷippākkai in the Nizam's dominions. * * * The campaign apparently began from there, or from somewhere not far off." This conjecture seems to get no support from our sources which are indeed very much against it. It is true that Rājēndra had very early in his reign, possibly when his father was still living, invaded the Raṭṭapāḍi country and advanced as far Koḷḷippākkai, Kulpak, half-way between Hyderabad and Warangal, and captured that place as well as Mālkhed further west. But there is nothing to show that the Cōḷas succeeded in retaining their hold even temporarily on the country across the Tuṅgabhadrā, though they found it possible frequently to cross that stream and carry fire and sword into the Western Cāḷukya country. The provenance of the Western Cāḷukya and Cōḷa inscriptions alike renders altogether impossible the supposition that the Cōḷas ever gained such mastery of the country in the neighbourhood of Kulpak as would enable them to fit out an aggressive expedition with that country as the base of their operations. In fact, the evidence of Rājēndra's inscriptions in itself makes it quite certain that he did not succeed in annexing the Cāḷukya country across the Tuṅgabhadrā. In an expedition subsequent to that in which he attacked Kulpak and Mālkhed, he claims to have defeated Jayasiṁha at Muśaṅgi, a place usually identified with Uchangidroog in the Bellary district to the south of the Tuṅgabhadrā. Even accepting Dr. S.K. Aiyangar's identification of this place with Maski celebrated in Aśokan epigraphy, we shall still find that the farthest point reached by Rājēndra in this later expedition falls far short of Kulpak, clear proof that the Cōḷas gained no territory for themselves as a result of their

1. *op. cit.*, p. 549.

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victories on the other side of the Tuṅgabhadrā. And the chronology is against our supposing that the army which captured Kulpak continued its march, and set out on the Ganges expedition. Kulpak was captured in A. D. 1015, the battle of Muśaṅgi was fought about A. D. 1021, but the expedition to Ganges did not start till after the middle of A. D. 1022. Not only is the view that the expedition to the Ganges started from Kulpak or its neighbourhood opposed to the general course of the relations between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas, but it is directly contradicted by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. From this source we learn that after his war with the Cāḷukya, Rājēndra returned to his capital.[1] From there he sent his *daṇḍanātha* on his northern expedition with suitable instructions.[2] And at this time the capital of the empire was Tanjore and no other place. The real explanation for the absence of any incident worth recording until the army reached Śakkarakkōṭṭam is to be found, it seems, in the fact that, until the northern frontier of the Vēṅgi kingdom was crossed, the Cōḷa army was marching along home territory, Vēṅgi being a sort of protectorate of the Cōḷa empire and ruled by a king connected with the imperial Cōḷas by close dynastic alliances. The modern Bastar state will be seen to lie just across the frontier of the old Vēṅgi kingdom.

Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the course of the campaign and the incidents connected with it, the texts bearing on the subject may be reproduced (in translation):[3]

I. *The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates : (verses 108-124).*

(108) Having conquered the Raṭṭa king with his forces, the politic son of Rājarāja returned to (his) city attended by courage, strength, victory and all his other virtues.

(109) Scoffing at Bhagīratha who, by the power of his austerities, got the Ganges to descend, (this) light of the solar line desired to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges (brought) by the strength of his own arm.

(110) To his commander-in-chief who was at the head of strong battalions, who was the home of valour and the foremost of diplomats, he issued instructions for the conquest of the kings ruling on the banks of that (river) who were opposed (to the enterprise).

1. Verse 108.
2. Verse 110.
3. S. I. I. III, part 111.

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(111) "Before him, as from the slopes of the Himālayas, marched a very large army like the tremendous volume of the waters of the Gaṅgā with wavy rows of moving horses causing all the quarters to resound with its confused clamour."[1]

(112) "The van of his army crossed the rivers by way of bridges formed by herds of elephants. The rest of the army (crossed the same) on foot, because the waters in the meantime had dried up being used by the elephants, horses and men."

(113) The forces of Vikrama Cōḷa spread in all directions the dust raised by the (marching of) contingents of elephants, horses and infantry; and they soon entered the countries of hostile kings.

(114) The commander of the ornament of the solar race first defeated Indraratha who opposed him with strong battalions of elephants, horses and infantry, and (then) captured the country of that jewel of the lunar race.

(115) The white parasol of that ornament of the lunar race of which the handle was cut in twain by the sharp arrows in the battle-field fell (to the ground) like the disc of the moon setting, distressed by the dishonour of that king.

(116) Then depriving Raṇaśūra of his prosperity he entered the land of Dharmapāla; and after conquering that land as well, the general of the Śibi king reached the celestial stream.

(117) The *daṇḍanāyaka* forthwith caused the most holy water of that river to be carried to his master Mathurāntaka by the defeated kings on its banks.

(118) (Meanwhile) Rājēndra-cōḷa, in his desire for conquest, approached the flowing Gōdāvarī, and made her suspect of the Lord of the Rivers (the ocean) by the cosmetics from his own limbs (being washed) in a *Jalakēḷikā*.[2]

(119) The fierce general conquered Mahīpāla, and put an end to his fame and his great treasures, and caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his own liege-lord.

(120) That powerful king then defeated in battle the evil minded Ōṭṭa (king) with his younger brother and his army and captured his rutting elephants.

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1. The translation of this verse and some others are quoted from S. I. I, III.

2. Frolicking in water especially in the company of women.

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(121) In that place, the king, riding on an elephant, himself killed a rutting elephant which rushed right against him.

(122) Then, with his lotus feet worshipped by high-born kings who had sustained defeat at his hands, he entered his own capital which by its splendours surpassed all the excellences of heaven.

(123) He then conquered Kaṭāha by getting his mighty forces to cross the ocean, and long protected the whole earth, while all other kings bowed before him.

(124) Then, with the waters of the Ganges, the king created in his own country a liquid pillar of victory celebrated under the name of Cōḷagaṅgam.

II. The corresponding part of the Tamil *praśasti* runs as follows[1] :—

"He seized Śakkarakkōṭṭam whose warriors were brave; Madurai-maṇḍalam, destroyed in a trice; the prosperous city of Nāmaṇaikkōṇam with its dense groves; Pañcappaḷḷi, whose warriors (bore) cruel bows; Māśuṇidēśa with its green fields; a large heap of family treasures, together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with his family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍa-Viṣaya which was difficult of approach, on account of its dense forest-defence; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇa-Lāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāḷa-dēśa, where the rain-water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahīpāla together with Śaṅgu who wore the anklet (of valour); Uttira-Lāḍam (on the shore of the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gaṅgā whose waters, bearing fragrant flowers, dashed against the bathing ghats (*tīrtha*) along its course)."

1. E. I. IX, p. 233. My translation differs from that of Hultzsch at some points, and these differences are explained in the notes to the text in Appendix-B.

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The Tamil passage thus translated calls for one remark which will indeed be quite obvious to students of Tamil literature. The short descriptions of the different places mentioned are by no means to be understood literally, as they are more often the result of the composer having invented particular expressions to rhyme with the proper names he handled, than of a studied effort on his part to convey accurate information geographical, military or ethnic about these places. The following rhyming pairs illustrate the point : Vikkirama—śakkara; kā-miḍai—nā-maṇai; Veñjilai—Pañja; Pāśuḍai—Māśuṇi; Taṅgāda—Vaṅgāḷa, and so on. This being so, Kōśalai-nāḍu may have been described as abounding in Brahmins for no other reason than that Pūśurar (Brahmins) rhymes with Kōśalai. At any rate, there is room for some hesitation before one accepts the suggestion that has been made,[1] that at this time, the Mahākōsala country of the central provinces became a home for Brahmin refugees from the rest of Hindusthan which was harried by the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Sanskrit verses omit all that precedes the conquest of Indraratha. Even this omission is indirectly helpful by the suggestion that may be drawn from it, that everything that precedes it in the Tamil record may possibly form one distinct stage, the earliest of the campaign. This suggestion gains some support from the language of Tamil Text which seems to imply that Śakkarakkōṭṭam, Madurai-Maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Pañcappaḷḷi were different places in the Māśuṇidēśam, which were attacked and reduced one after another before the conquest of the whole area was completed. Māśuṇi-dēśam means 'the country of the snakes.' Nāga-lōka, in legend, is the celebrated subterranean land of the snakes with Bhēgavatī as its capital, a land of beautiful women, and unclouded enjoyment of life. Whether the legend grew out of the fact, or gave rise to it, we have an exact counterpart of it in epigraphy. There were kings of the Nāgavaṁśa ruling in the eleventh century over the region now occupied by the modern Bastar state.[2] They were of the Kāśyapagōtra and called themselves Bhōgavatīpuravarēśvaras. One of them ruling about forty years after the date of Rājēndra's invasion called himself Madhurāntaka ; meaning, no doubt, conqueror of the Madurai-maṇḍalam of our inscription. That the

1. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 550.
2. E. I. IX pp. 161-4 and 174 ff.

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territorial divisions of the Nāgavaṁśī kingdom were called Maṇḍalas becomes clear from the Rājāpura plates which speak of Rājāpura as being in the midst of Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala—*Bhramarkōṭya-maṇḍalamadhye Rāja-pura grāmam.*[1] The place called Śakkarakkōṭṭam in our inscription is easily recognised in the Cakrakōṭya-maṇḍala,[2] of the same plates, which probably, survives as Mr. Hira Lal points out in the present Citrakūṭa or Citrakōṭa, eight miles from Rājāpura.[3] That we are unable to identify at present Pañcappaḷḷi and Nāmaṇaikkōṇam will hardly be considered a serious objection, in the face of so many exact coincidences between the data in Rājēndra's inscriptions and those of Nāgavaṁśī epigraphy, to our identifying Māśuṇidēśam with the land in the modern Bastar state ruled by the Nāgavaṁśī branch of the Sindas who, it may be noted, by the way, had the tiger-crest like the Cōḷas from whom in later times they occasionally traced their descent.[4]

After the conquest of Māśuṇidēśam just across the frontier of the Vēṅgī Kingdom to its north, Rājēndra's general had an encounter with Indraratha of the lunar race. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates vaguely imply, and the Tamil *praśasti* expressly states, that a battle was fought in which Indraratha was decisively defeated and taken prisoner at a place called Ādinagar. This success led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa country and Kōśalai-nāḍu, doubtless, the region corresponding to modern Orissa and the Southern Kōsala country to its west. On the identity of the king of the lunar race, Kielhorn made the suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhōja of Malwa mentioned in the Udaipur inscription.[5] This seems not unlikely as the enemy of Bhōja, a Cēdi ruler,[6] came of a family of kings, who, soon after this period, are seen to adopt for themseles the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, about 1042 A.D.[7] It is equally possible that the opponent of

1. E. I. IX, p. 180. 11. 15-16. I do not feel sure that Mr. Hira Lal is justified in saying of Madhurāntaka that 'his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarkōṭya' and that 'he appears to have been a Māṇḍalika (feudatory chief)'. *ibid* p. 178.
2. 11. 28-9.
3. E. I. IX, p. 179.
4. 231 of 1903.
5. E. I. VII, Appendix p. 120, n. 3.
6. Cedīśvarēndraratha, E. I. I, p. 235, 1, 20.
7. E. I. XI, p. 188.

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the Cōḷa advance in this region was a ruler (otherwise unknown to epigraphy like several other persons and places mentioned in this *praśasti*) who belonged to the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty which held sway in Orissa about this period. The identity of the battle-field is not less elusive than that of the king who suffered defeat there. Discussing this question, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes.[1] " His (Indraratha's) capital Śādinagar (Śādi-nagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jājnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is no other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonpūr Binka of the maps) on the river Mahānadī by Pandit Hira Lal. " It is a pity that the learned scholar just cited gives no indication about the source for his reading of the name of Indraratha's capital-Śādinagar. There is no warrant for this in the published plates of either the Tirumalai rock inscription,[2] or the Tanjore inscription, which latter very distinctly reads ' Ādinagar '.[3] In some of the other published versions in the more recent volumes of the Texts series of the South Indian Inscriptions, we get the readings- ' Vaṇkīrtti Ayādinagar',[4] and ' Vaṇkīrtti-Yādinagar ' often written as "Vaṇkīrttiy-Yādinagar".[5] But no student of Tamil epigraphy can fail to notice that the first 'y' or 'ya' in these latter readings must be taken to form part of the word *'kīrtti'* especially with the 'Ādinagar' of the Tanjore inscription before him. But the reading 'Ayādinagar' following 'kīrtti', if it is firmly established, would go far to justify the view that Yayātinagar, said to have been founded by Yayāti Kēsari,[6] with whom the Kēsari dynasty began its career, and not any other city, was the field of the battle. Pandit Hira Lal's identification of this place with Sonpūr-Binka exactly meets the case, as this place would lie on the route of an army marching along the usual route to northern India from the modern Bastar state. There is nothing, however, in the geography of this campaign to prevent our seeking the site of the battle in Jājpūr, a place full of the antiquities of the Orissan kings and

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 550.
2. E. I. IX, p. 236. 1, 8.
3. S. I. I. II, plate 3, line 5 end.
4. 171 of 1894.
5. *See* Nos. 77 of 1895; 78 & 78-A of same year.
6. Hunter-Orissa 1, p. 232.

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highly cherished by them ;[1] in the Sōmavaṁśī records, on the other hand, Yayātinagar is said distinctly to have been on the banks of the Mahānadī; Jājpūr, on the Baitaraṇī one of the tributaries of the Mahānadī, can hardly be said to answer the description.[2] Hira Lal's identification of Yayātinagara with Binka,[3] on the Mahānadī rests on two assumptions, both rather weak in themselves ; that the ancient Vinītapura had its name changed to Yayātinagara by a relatively late monarch who had the name or title Yayāti after he became master of that place ; and that the name Binka is a corruption of Vinītapura. Call it then Ādinagar or Yayātinagar, we do not seem yet to be near a satisfactory identification of the place. We have to depend only on the fact that the battle at this place gained for the Cōḷa forces an easy passage through the southern Kōsala and Orissa countries for a rough determination of the route taken by these forces.

There ensues, in the remaining stages of the campaign, a striking divergence between the Sanskrit and the Tamil accounts, and it seems at first sight that the two accounts are irreconcilable. The Sanskrit account says that Raṇaśūra and Dharmapāla were overpowered before the Ganges was reached, omits all mention of Vaṅga or East Bengal, and implies that Mahīpāla was conquered on the return march, though the repetition of the statement[4] that after conquering Mahīpāla the general caused the water of the Ganges to be brought to his master, is calculated to raise a doubt as to the stage of the campaign at which the encounter with Mahīpāla occurred. The Tamil *praśasti*, on the other hand, arranges the conquests in a different order. First the overthrow of Dharmapāla resulted in the mastery of Daṇḍabhukti; then came the submission of Raṇaśūra of Takkaṇa-Lāḍa (Southern Lāḍa) and that of Gōvindacanda of Vaṅgāḷadēśa. Lastly the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa (Northern Lāḍa) was attacked and compelled to seek refuge in flight abandoning his treasures and women ; and the Ganges was reached.

It is now generally acknowledged that Lāḍa here refers neither to Gujerat, nor to Berar as Mr. Venkayya held, but is the Tamil form of Rāḍhā, a name by which a division of Bengal was

1. Hunter-Orissa, 1, 239-41 ; 265-72.
2. E. I. III, 355.
3. E. I. XI, 189.
4. *cf.* verses 117 and 119.

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known from the second to at least the thirteenth century.[1] At first sight it looks like the Cōḷa army having fought against a number of independent rulers holding sway over a number of petty principalities with varying degrees of success. This is how the matter is understood, for instance, by Mr. R. D. Banerjea who says: "The Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vaṅga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms."[2] How Mr. Banerjea, who makes this observation in describing the political condition of Bengal before Mahīpāla's accession, can reconcile this view of the Tirumalai rock inscription with his general account of the history of Mahīpāla's reign, it is not easy to see. Mahīpāla had, by the time of the Cōḷa inroad into Bengal, occupied the Pāla throne for some years, and successfully revived the glories of the Pāla Kingdom, by a series of vigorous campaigns which made him master of a considerable empire extending up to Benares in the west and brought him into hostile relations with rulers of the Cēdi kingdom.[3] Moreover, the Tirumalai inscription describing the state of Bengal at the time of Rājēndra's invasion can hardly be evidence of what was in existance several years before its date. There is nothing in fact in the language of the Tirumalai inscription that militates against our assuming that the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa who was attacked last was the suzerain who had a sort of hegemony in the whole region taken by the Cōḷas from Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Gōvindacandra. The name Dharmapāla suggests some connection of this prince with Mahīpāla, who is known to have deputed in 1020 two other persons called Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla to execute some works in the neighbourhood of Benares.[4] Somewhat later than the period we are dealing with, in the reign of Rāmapāla, a certain Lakṣmīśūra is styled the chief of all the feudatories of forest lands, apparently in the Pāla kingdom (samastāṭavikasāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ)[5] a fact which suggests that Raṇaśūra might have occupied likewise a subordinate position under Mahīpāla. I am therefore inclined to

1. R. D. Banerjea-Palas of Bengal, pp. 71-72. (Memoirs of A. S. B. V.) The *Rāmabodhacandrōdaya* has: Gauḍam Rāṣṭram anuttamam nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhāpurī (Act II).
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70 & 74.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
5. *Ibid* p. 72.

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suggest that in this part of the campaign, Mahīpāla was the chief enemy who opposed the Cōḷa inroad, and that the fights with the other persons named were only preliminary to the final attack on the suzerain ruler, Mahīpāla, who is mentioned together with Śaṅgu in the Tamil inscription. The victory gained against Rāḍhā of which Ganges formed the northern boundary enabled the Cōḷa forces to reach the Ganges, the objective of their whole enterprise.

Overlooking the true nature of the Cōḷa advance into the north and its avowed object, and basing himself on an old report of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri on a manuscript of the *Caṇḍakauśika*, Mr. Banerjea boldly identifies the Karṇāṭas whose defeat by Mahīpāla is mentioned in the prologue to the drama with the forces of Rājēndra, and Mahīpāla himself with the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It has long been recognised, however, that the Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśika* was the Gurjara ruler of that name ; and there was perpetual feud between the Gurjaras of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-karṇāṭas.[1] Mr. Banerjea's contentions that Rājēndra's forces sought to cross the Ganges into Vārēndra or northern Bengal, that Mahīpāla succeeded in stopping this, and that such details are not mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription because it is a *praśasti*,[2] will require to be supported by much more direct evidence that has been produced by him before they can find acceptance.

On the other hand, in denying that Rājēndra's invading army at all met Mahīpāla of Bengal, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to let himself go too far in his reaction against Mr. Banerjea's views. In his opinion, Rājēndra's general met and defeated an Oḍḍa king Mahīpāla. He seeks support for this conclusion in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and in a particular reading of the line in the Tamil *praśasti* mentioning Mahīpāla, and it is necessary to examine briefly how far the evidence cited by him supports the conclusion drawn from it. It may be stated at the outset that that the proper interpretation of the verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates is not altogether free from difficulty, and that the utmost caution is required in dealing with these verses, especially on account of the apparent divergence between them and the Tamil

1. Mcdonnel-Sanskrit literature, p. 366; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 239 & n. *Also* J. O. R. M., Vol. VI, 191-198
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

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praśasti to which attention has been above. Now, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar evidently treats verses 116 to 123 as forming an account of a continuous transaction, and though one may not agree with him in this view, one can urge no logical objection to the course adopted by him. When he says that Dharmapāla was the ruler of Uttara Rāḍha,[1] however, he makes a statement that is not warranted by anything in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and that is, indeed, opposed by the express statements of the Tamil record that he was the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, and that Uttara Lāḍa was taken from Mahīpāla after his defeat. Again, he speaks of the Cōḷa general,[2] "joining forces with his master and going forward to attack the king of Orissa who was defeated and killed in battle"; but verses 120-1 do not by any means support this statement, and it must be noticed that these verses do not stand in any definite relation to Mahīpāla mentioned in the preceding verse (119) as having been defeated by the Cōḷa general before he caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his lord. Thirdly, the summary of Dr. Aiyangar implies that the Cōḷa king embarked on the naval campaigan against Kaḍāram *before* returning to his capital; whereas verse 122 which mentions the entry into the capital is interposed between the campaign in Orissa and the conquest of Kaḍāram just mentioned in verse 123. On three specific points then Dr. Aiyangar's position seems to go against his sources, and there is no direct warrant from the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the view that Mahīpāla, the opponent of the Cōḷa general, was an Orissan (Oḍḍa) king. Turning now to the Tamil inscription, Dr. Aiyangar's plea that this record has been 'somewhat misunderstood owing to imperfections in the writing' is true in a sense rather different from and not nearly so important as what he implies. Now, no one can deny that the Tamil record expressly says that Uttara Lāḍam and Gaṅgai were taken by the Cōḷa army after the defeat of Mahīpāla; the natural inference from this would be that Mahīpāla was the ruler of Uttira Lāḍam, and it would be rather strange if the Tamil *praśasti* also called him the ruler of Oḍḍa (Orissa) especially after having already narrated the conquest of Orissa from Indraratha. We have discussed the readings of this particular line in the appendix and shown that the Tanjore reading which

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 563.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

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makes very good sense is the correct one. Dr. Aiyangar, however, holds that "apparently the correct reading of this Tamil line" is given by an inscription (No. 84) from Channapaṭṇa in the Bangalore district in the words : "*Toḍu-kaḍar-cańgamoṭṭa-Mahīpālaṉai*", meaning "Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Śaṅgama which touches the sea". He adds : "The first three words in full in Tamil would be *Toḍu-kaḍar-cańgamam*, which means the river mouth which touches the sea." In that case, one should like to know how this phrase when it combines with Oṭṭa-Mahipāla, yields 'Śaṅgam-Oṭṭa Mahipāla," instead of 'Śaṅgamavoṭṭa Mahipāla' as it should be. In the phrase Oṭṭa-Mahipāla, if the reading is established, Mahipāla may or may not be a proper name. But it is by no means clear that for the correct reading of a Tamil record we must go to Bangalore rather than to Tanjore, or that the inscription from the Bangalore district gives the correct reading in this respect.

We understand the verses of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates differently. With verse 119 we come to the end of a definite stage in the campaign. With it the main project, the taking of the Ganges, is over. The name of Mahīpāla is introduced here in this verse as an after thought, and to mark this, the statement, that the Cōḷa general caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his master, already made in verse 117, is repeated a second time (119). Verses 120 and 121 describe a detached campaign led by the king himself, which seems to be the one commemorated by the undated Mahēndragiri inscriptions of Rājēndra in which the Kulūta king Vimalāditya was defeated and compelled to surrender a number of powerful elephants into Rājēndra's hands. Either the campaign took place after Rājēndra met his victorious general returning from the north, or possibly it was an old story thrown in here by the poet who was bringing his *praśasti* to a close. The campaign against Kaṭāha did not start till the king reached his capital, and there is no indication in our sources that the overseas expedition of Rājēndra started from the Kaliṅga country.

The result of our study shows then that the campaign in quest of the Ganges was nothing more nor less than the *digvijaya* of the northern quarter undertaken by Rājēndra to make a demonstration of his power. There is nothing incredible in the the distances traversed or in the achievements reported. It was a raid up to the banks of the Ganges across the Bastar State, and

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portions of the Central Provinces and Western Bengal and Bihar, and this could easily have been undertaken with the Vēṅgī kingdom as the base of operations. All the same, Rājēndra was proud of this success more than of anything else, and perpetuated it by the construction of the new capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram with its vast lake, the Cōḷagaṅgam, into which were let the waters of the Gaṅges so laboriously conveyed to his country and at such cost. Nothing now remains of the tank whose bed is a thick jungle, and the celebrated city of Rājēndra, for many generations the capital of his successors, is now an obscure hamlet on the confines of the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.

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APPENDIX.

Text of the part of the Tamil Praśasti bearing on the campaign :

vikkirama-vīrar Śakkarakkōṭṭamu-
mudirpaḍa vallai[1] Madurai-maṇḍalamum
kā-miḍai vaḷanagar[2] Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum
veñjilai-vīrar[3] Pañca-ppaḷḷiyum
pāśaḍai-ppaḷana[4]-Māśuṇidēśamum
ayarvil-vaṇ-kīrtti Ādinagar[5]-vaiyiṉ
candiran tolkulatt-Indirarathaṉai
viḷai-yamar-kkaḷattuk-kiḷaiyoḍum piḍittup-
paladanattoḍu niṟai kuladanak-kuvaiyum
kiṭṭaruñ-jeṟi-miḷai[6] Oṭṭa-viśaiyamum

---

1. Hultzsch's translation here runs: "whose forts (bore) banners, (which touched) the clouds." The text is not easy, but cannot by any means yield this meaning. Vallai = quickly; Udirpaḍa = be destroyed.

2. This reading found in 176 of 1923 gives the best meaning in the context.

3. 'Veñjiṉa-vīrar' is another reading, equally good, meaning 'warriors fierce in anger.'

4. This is the Tanjore reading (S. I. I. II. 20), very satisfactory. The Tirumalai rock has "Pāśuḍaippalanaṉ-māśuṇidēśam"; we may either cancel the '*ṉ*' at end of '*naṉ*' and equate it to the Tanjore reading; or follow Hultzsch (E. I. IX) and say—"Paśuḍai-ppaḷa=naṉ-māśuṇidēśam".

5. Ādinagar is clear in the Tanjore inscription. *Yādinagar* in Tirumalai; *Yyādinagar* in others; *Ayādinagar* once that I know of. Never Śādinagar, as suggested by Dr. S. K. Aiyaṉgar. 'Ayarvil vaṇkīrtti' is rendered by Hultzsch into: 'which was famous for unceasing abundance', which seems rather forced. '*Ādinagaravayircandira*' must be split into '*Adinagarvaiyiṉ*' and *candira* where '*vaiyiṉ*' is the locative case ending. The meaning is simply 'at Ādinagar', not 'in the *Sabhā* (*avai*) of Ādinagar.'

6. '*Miḷai*' is a synonym for '*kāvaṟkāḍu*', 'protecting forest' or 'forest defence'. Hultzsch has apparently missed this meaning.

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pūśurar-śēr nar-Kōśalai-nāḍum
Taṉmapālaṉai vemmuṉai-yalittu
vaṇḍuraiśōlait-Taṇḍa-puttiyum
Iraṇaśūraṉai muraṇugat-tākkit-
tikkaṇai kīrttit-Takkaṇa Lāḍamum
Kōvinda-śandaṉ mā-viḻindōḍat-
taṅgāda-śāral Vaṅgāladēśamum
[1]toḍu-kaḻarc-Caṅguvo-ḍaḍal-Mahipālaṉai
veñjamar-viḷāgattañjuvittar-liyu
oṇḍiral yāṉaiyum peṇḍir paṇḍāraṉum
nittila-neḍuṅgaḍal-Uttira Lāḍamum
[2]veṟi-malart-tīrttat-teṟipunaṟ-Kaṅgaiyum.

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1. This line has suffered most by a defect in stone giving rise in the impression (S. I. II. 20 plate) to what looks like a dot over the first *ḍa* in '*Voḍaḍal*' which was therefore read as '*Voṭṭal*'. '*Kaḍaṟ*' for '*Kaḻar*' in some copies is the result of an easy substitution of '*ḍa*' for '*ḻa*'. The metre is best satisfied by the Tanjore reading: '*Toḍukaḻaṟ-caṅgu-voḍaḍal-Mahipālaṉai.*' There is hardly any room for *tōḍu*, *Saṅguvoṭṭal*, or *saṅgamam* or *Oṭṭa*. Śaṅgu must be a proper name, a person of whom we know nothing now, except what is stated here. It is curious that the same mistake in deciphering seems to mark a similar phrase in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions—See the variant readings in S. I. I. IV no 539, l. 22 and V no 465, l. 12 of what beyond doubt must be *paḍaiñaroḍaḍalarivāraṇa(m)*.

2. '*Veṟi-maṇal*' in some copies, not so good. Meaning 'fragrant sands.'

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THE ROYAL ARTIST, MAHENDRAVARMAN I[1].

BY

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Madras.

Indeed no country in the world rose to the pinnacle of self-eminence which had not Art as the real force prompting its growth and civilisation. And the "glory that was Ind" is revealed to a remarkable degree in its best light by a few relics of her ancient treasures that have luckily come down to us. And in the not long list of illustrious South Indian monarchs, whose deeds have illumined the pages of India's annals, few there are that have better earned a niche in the temple of fame and a place in the hearts of their countrymen by their patronage of Art than the accomplished artist, the intrepid architect, and the highly cultured poet, musician and dramatist, Mahendravarman I.

Mahendravarman, like Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was a man of considerable talents and rare gifts. What we call Pallava art to-day and admire so much received a cultural background and flowered under the direct patronage of this royal connoisseur. There was not a single branch of art that was not given a stimulus, not a single monument that was not beautified and immortalised. Surely that veteran archaeologist Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil is giving a true estimate of the king when he says that "King Mahendravarman I is one of the greatest figures in the history of Tâmilian civilisation ".[2]

Though much is not known about his military exploits and though consequently he would appear to be less fortunate than his father Simhaviṣṇu in war he deserves the encomium given him by Prof. Dubreuil for, it was he who gave a stimulus to, if not actually introduced into the regions under his sway, the love of art. The fine arts received at his hands special attention, and no architectural monument has as yet been discovered in the Tamil

1. Paper read at the First Bombay Historical Congress, December, 1931.

2. Jouveau Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 40.

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country that can be attributed to a period earlier than his reign. The earlier temples and monuments must have been built of perishable materials like wood, brick, etc. Hence are scarcely found to-day remains of such perishable buildings. The idea of cutting temples and shrines and *caityas* in solid rock had not evidently spread to the Tamil land at the time that witnessed the growth of rock-cut shrines and cave-temples such as at Ajaṇṭā in the Deccan.

We shall examine the contributions of this royal artist to South Indian Art under the following heads :—

(1) Architecture and sculpture.

(2) Fine Arts :

(*a*) Painting.

(*b*) Music.

(3) Literature (poetry, drama etc.)

Architecture and sculpture.

The very interesting cave-temple inscription of Mahendravarman from Maṇḍagapaṭṭu (South Arcot district) introduces us to probably the earliest of the cave-temples designed by Mahendravarman himself in South India. The inscription runs as follows :—

> Etad-aniṣṭakamadrumamalohamasudharh Vicitracittena |
> Nirmmāpitan-nṛpeṇa Brahmeśvara-viṣṇu-lakṣitāyatanam ||
> " This is the temple caused to be built by king Vicitracitta (the curious-minded) for the Trimūrti, *i.e.*, Brahmā, Īśvara (Śiva), and Viṣṇu—a structure designed without (the use of) bricks, timber, metals, and mortar ".

The term " Vicitra-citta " which has been translated as " inventive-minded one " or " curious-minded one " would lay emphasis on the fact that Mahendravarman took the initiative in the matter and gave orders for the construction of the rock-cut temple at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu. The king claims, as Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil points out in his " Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman I ", the right of authorship of this cave-temple by insisting on two points, *viz.*, " that the act of digging in a rock was a curious and entirely new idea " and " that it was he who gave this idea to the workmen of that region, for it is he and not the workmen who was " curious-minded " ". To our mind the term ' vicitra-citta ' signifies something more too. It is indicative of the rather cold reception that his architectural ideas met

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with at the hands of the architects of the Tamil land to whom his invention appeared new and curious, amounting almost to a cynical disregard of the then-known conventions in architecture and temple-building. While they would have driven out of the land any ordinary mason that came to their country with such an architectural invention, so opposed to the process well known to them, they could not but submit to the wishes of the king of the land when he was similarly disposed. They probably yielded to the king under protest, expressing their opposition to the invention probably at the king's back and bemoaning their lot to serve a master who wanted them to learn some new and curious methods in architecture that ran contrary to their experience in that field. Thus the king's ideas were all curious and funny (*vicitra*) to them, and the king himself, (who had probably in his mind several other similar ideas that he must needs put into action,) a "vicitra-citta". Surely their murmured protest reached the ears of the king, who with good humour, prompted by the artistic instinct in him, took upon himself the term 'vicitra-citta' as an honorific title and probably announced to the architects of the land his determination to remain a 'vicitra-citta' till they could get to appreciate his inventions. We can suspect in this action of the king a stealthy attempt to win the confidence of the architects, to alleviate their fears, so that they can combine with him and ensure success for his invention. This step of his had the desired effect as proved by a number of cave-temples rising in quick succession in various parts of the land that were under his sway. Probably the first cave-temple that was built by his unwilling architects under protest was the one at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu, where to alleviate their fears and to make them take to his work with all willingness he had recourse to the strategm suggested above. And this hilarious royal architect has luckily given us an opportunity to follow his artistic tendencies coupled with good humour by engraving this name "vicitra-citta" on the very temple and immortalising thereby the first phase in his architectural and artistic career.

This inscription besides proving that the king was personally responsible for introducing the "cave style", probably from the north, throws light on the nature of the earlier temples, *viz.*, that structural temples of "bricks, timber, metals (nails), and mortar" were the rule, rather than the exception in the Pallava country.

At the epoch of Mahendravarman there existed structural temples built of the above mentioned perishable materials which

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had evidently fallen into ruins and had been destroyed " either by time or by men ". While their destruction by time is easily understood their destruction by men requires elucidation. There is a maṇḍapa, now in utter ruins, in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, the Pallava capital, called the "purāṇa-maṇḍapa" which is attached to the thousand pillared maṇḍapa in the same temple. Many of its pillars are in the Pallava style and were evidently taken from a very ancient temple that had fallen into ruins before they were utilised in the building of this maṇḍapa. The credit of discovering this structure goes to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, who examined every nook and corner of Kāñcīpuram before he came across this ruined maṇḍapa. He came across a " facade formed of six pillars which are all probably of Pallava origin. They are cubical, except in the middle where they are prismatic, and adorned with lotus flowers. Only one of these pillars contains an inscription. This pillar is similar to those found in the caves of Mahendra, but does not contain lotus flower ornament ; the upper part is cubical and on each of the four sides there are writings ". These writings reveal a series of *birudas* of the king himself. Such are for instance, " Abhimukha, Citrakārapuli, Kūṟṟambu, Mahāmegha, Dṛḍhagatiḥ, Pisu (ḍu)gu, Vambara and Bhrāntaḥ." After " Bhrāntaḥ " occurs the verb "akari (akāri)[1]" thereby meaning that " the mad man or one out of his senses caused it to be made ". Does this not recall our observations under the term " vicitra-citta "? From among the *birudas* in the Kāñcīpuram temple if we single out a few and arrange them as, "Abhimukha, Dṛḍhagatiḥ, Bhrāntaḥ Akāri[1], and Citrakārapuli " we arrive at their real import as probably intended by the king himself, their engraver. They give room for the conjecture that the advancing royal artist who wanted to realise his ambition and was consequently of unswerving and persevering gait (*i.e.*, he did not give way before opposition) made the architects of the Tamil land carry his ideas into action for which he was rewarded at the outset with the title " mad or one out of senses " (bhrāntaḥ) by an unsympathetic Tamil architect-world. But ere long his ideas were appreciated and admiration for his superior artistic taste followed with the result that " those that came to scoff began to pray ". The very architects that reviled him as a funny man and characterised his works as those of a lunatic now joined together in hailing him as " the tiger

1. Read ' *akarot* '

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among artists" (citrakārapuli). This was indeed Mahendra's glorious ambition and he did live to realise his ambition and to witness the dawn of an artistic renaissance.

Let us now determine the character of this "cave style" or the "Mahendra style" as it is more popularly called, for propagating which the royal artist took so much pains. It is assigned to a period ranging from 600 to 625 A. D. and is attributed the following distinguishing characteristics :—

1. The pillars of rock-cut caves are square in section, adorned with lotus flowers with the central portion octagonal.

2. The capitals or "brackets" over these pillars are mostly plain, sometimes with horizontal fluting.

3. There are *Dvārapālas*, always in front view, leaning on heavy clubs, their hands raised sometimes to the head in sign of adoration.

4. Over the architrave there is a convex roll-cornice, decorated with *caitya*-window niches called *kūḍu*, enclosing heads, the crest of the arch being plain.

5. The Buddhist railing, which is rare in Hindu art, is sometimes seen.[1]

The cave-temples attributable to Mahendravarman, that have been discoverd up till now are as many as thirteen and are spread all over his kingdom, from the region of the Kṛṣṇā to that of the Kāverī. They are from Uṇḍavalli, Bhairavakoṇḍa, Mahendravāḍi, Pallāvaram, Kāñcīpuram, Māmaṇḍūr, Maṇḍagapaṭṭu, Dalavānūr, Vallam, Śīyamaṅgalam, Trichinopoly, Śittaṇṇavāśal and Kuḍumiyāmalai. For a detailed description of these the reader is referred to the works of Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil and Mr. Longhurst on the subject. For our study we shall single out such as throw light on the subject on hand.

Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil has answered the question, "Where did Mahendravarman acquire his taste for rock-cut temples ?" in his work[2] and has come to the conclusion that "it was on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, when admiring the caves of Uṇḍavalli, Bezwada and Mogulrāzapuram that Mahendra entertained the idea of spreading in the Tamil country the mode of cutting temples in rocks[3]", and that therefore these temples "appeared as

1. Trichinopoly—Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, Plate I.
2. *Pallavas*, p. 28.
3. *Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman* I, p. vii.

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a new and curious method imported from the Telugu country into the Tamil country by the king who has deserved worthily the name of Vicitracitta"[1]. While the Doctor assigns the Uṇḍavalli caves to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins for the reason that they should be the work of some others to have inspired him and to have served as the model for his rock-cut temples further south, Mr. Longhurst assigns them to Mahendra himself. We agree with the latter as the Uṇḍavalli caves are in the same style as those further south, presenting the following common features :—

1. The plan of the caves is the same.
2. The pillars are square in section and have cubical parts ornamented with lotus flowers.
3. The sculptures resemble each other closely.
4. The *Dvārapālas* have the same pose.
5. The doors and the niches have a kind of frame-work which is similar to what is described as "double-arched tiruvātchi" found in some of the cave-temples of the south.

We are indebted, however, to Dr. Dubreuil for the very interesting information regarding the parentage of Mahendravarman that he has given us while discussing the authorship of the Uṇḍavalli caves. The name Mahendravarman which reminds one of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin name Vikramahendra, was unknown to the Pallavas prior to our king of that name. Siṁhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahendravarman had conquered the Cola country and was ruling over the vast region extending from the river Kṛṣṇā to the Kāverī. While Siṁhaviṣṇu was ruling at Kāñcīpuram, the capital of the kingdom, his son, the *yuvarāja* Mahendravarman was probably appointed to govern the northern regions with his headquarters in the Kṛṣṇā region. His neighbours were probably the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who were well disposed to him and taught him what they knew in architecture which they had themselves imbibed from the Vākāṭakas with whom they were matrimonially allied. Dr. Dubreuil accounts for this happy relation between the Pallava and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin by assuming a similar matrimonial alliance between them. He says that a Viṣṇukuṇḍi princess should have been espoused by Siṁhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman was probably born to them. The name Mahendravarman descended then from his maternal grandfather who was probably Vikramahendra.[2] On the death of

1. *Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman* I, p. viii.
2. *Pallavas*, p. 35.

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father, Mahendravarman should have moved to Kāñcīpuram and carried with him the lessons in art and architecture that he had learnt in the Telugu country. The Telugu nature of some of his *birudas* found in the cave temples, viz., *nilvulē nēyambu, ventulavittu, civibhunduṇḍu, pasarambu* bears testimony to the fact that he did rule over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore. There is also an inscription of this king in the Kapoteśvara temple, at Chezarla in the Guntur District, which as we know, is modelled on a Buddhist *caitya*, in which he is referred to by the name Mahendravikrama Mahārāja and also by his birudas *guṇabhara* and *avaṇibhājana*.[1] The presence of an inscription of this king here proves his stay in the Telugu country.

We shall now turn to such of the cave temples as reveal the artistic touch of the royal architect.

I. Mahendravāḍi.

Mahitatamaṁ Satām-upamahendra-taṭākamidaṁ
Sthiramuru-kāritam Guṇabhareṇa vidāryya śilāṁ|
Jananayanābhirāmaguṇadhāma-Mahendrapure
Mahati Mahendraviṣṇugṛhanāma Murārigṛhaṁ ||

"Splitting the rock, Guṇabhara caused to be made on the bank of the Mahendra-tank in the great city of Mahendrapura (also named after the king) this solid, spacious temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) named Mahendraviṣṇugṛha, which is highly praised by people and which is an abode of beauty pleasing the eyes of men".

The above is an excellent verse in the Kōkilaka metre and reveals the king's skill in poetry and prosody. We shall pursue the literary career of this king under "Fine Arts". The king has in this inscription given his name to the place which was then called Mahendrapura and is now known as Mahendravāḍi. So also he has given his name to the rock-cut temple there and to the big tank near which the temple stands.

II. Pallāvaram.

The cave temple here was probably intended for the Trimūrti as at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu and contains a string of *birudas* of the king, some in Sanskrit, a few in Telugu, as indicated by their endings and two in Tamil. They are :—

1. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, no. 595.

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1. Śrī Mahendravikramaḥ.
2. Mattavilāsaḥ.
3. Ceṭṭhakārī.
4. Vicitracittaḥ.
5. Aluptakāmaḥ.
6. Lokaśalyaḥ.
7. Kalahapriyaḥ.
8. Lalitāṅkuraḥ.
9. Saṅkīrṇajātiḥ.
10. Pravṛttamātraḥ.

These are in Sanskrit. Luckily the name of the king is given first thus making the association with him of the following *birudas* obvious. These *birudas* of Mahendravarman are not mere boasts but, as pointed out by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, have meanings based upon some act done by him and "have been bestowed on him or assumed by him for some ostensible reason".[1]

Matta-vilāsa is probably indicative of the cold reception that his ideas met with at the outset at the hands of the Tamilian architects and artists who were prone to look on them as "the sports of a mad man." We have been so sufficiently tutored to follow the thoughts of this king that it is needless for us to point out that the king took special pride in taking upon himself the names indicative of protest, contempt, etc., by which his people called him, unable to see eye to eye with him in his artistic ambitions. We have seen this under "vicitra-citta" while examining Maṇḍagapaṭṭu. Or perhaps this *biruda* is due to his having composed the little pleasant farce, the "Mattavilāsa-prahasana" about which more in the sequel.

Ceṭṭhakārī.—I examined this *biruda* on the spot and have no reason to disagree with the reading of the Epigraphical department. It is correct and may be taken to be the equivalent of "Caityakārī" which would mean that the king was the builder of *caityas*, by which perhaps the monolithic cave-temples are intended.

Vicitracittaḥ.—We have seen this already.

Aluptakāmaḥ.—"One who will not abandon his quests or desires". This can compare with "abhimukha" and "dṛḍha-gatiḥ" of the Conjeevaram inscription and reveals like the latter the king's determination to find support for his ideas and projects from those unsympathetic architects of the Tamil land. Surely Bhavabhūti's cry 'Utpatsyate mama tu ko'pi samānadharmā" would ring with sincerity and redoubled force if applied to Mahendra.

Lokaśalyaḥ.—"The arrow to the world (the world of foes or the world of the foe-like unsympathetic Tamilian architects)".

1. *E. I.* Vol. XVIII, p. 15.

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Here he is just voicing the feeling of his unsympathetic architects who considered him as a thorn on their side, a veritable menace to the accepted canons and conventions in art and architecture. Surely, the deep lover of art that he was, he considered these architects as his foes and did not mean any foe in the military sense of the term.

Kalahapriyaḥ.—"Lover of fight or dispute". He was eagerly looking forward for a dispute among those unsympathetic architects which, should it occur, would bring some of them to his school and to appreciate his projects. The dispute here refers to a difference of opinion, whether the king's ideas are acceptable or not. By the term *kalaha* no internecine strife is meant, nor any dispute in the real sense of the term but just what we have explained above.

Lalitāṅkuraḥ.—"Of the tender-sprout". That the king belonged to the Pallava family is meant here (*pallava* is a synonym for *aṅkura*). The royal poet gives expression to this idea with singular grace and poetic exaltation that mark him out in all his writings, of which more in the sequel.

Saṅkīrṇajātiḥ.—"The discoverer of a variety of musical time or mode of music known as saṅkīrṇajāti". This *biruda* should have puzzled the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who not properly realising that these *birudas* of Mahendravarman should not be taken at their face value though he himself agrees that these *birudas* were "bestowed on him or assumed by him for some ostensible reason" has interpreted this term as meaning "mixed caste". In support of this he has to conjecture that "perhaps the parents of Mahendravarman were of different castes". Luckily the late Mr. Krishna Sastri has rescued our Mahendravarman from this ignominy by giving the true interpretation of this term. His words are "Saṅkīrṇajāti is the name of a variety of musical time. Perhaps Mahendravarman I held this *biruda* as an inventor of this method of keeping musical time". We shall speak more of this when we discuss the musical accomplishments of this king under Kuḍumiyāmālai. To interpret each *biruda* of this king we should get into the artistic life of Mahendra or in short we should get the "Mahendra spirit".

Pravṛtta (i) mātraḥ.—"Always progressive alone". Here we get an inkling into the real character of the king. He set his goal before him and was always proceeding towards it, each day finding him progressing slowly but surely and nearer his goal.

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There was no going back if ills beset him as they did. Like the true warrior whose aim it was "to march ahead and to do and die" he moved ahead in his noble quest of art, paying little heed to the obstacles that befell him and the unsympathetic talk to which his work was made a target, though perhaps at the beginning only.

Now we shall examine the Telugu *birudas*[1] occurring here. They are :—

1. *Civibhunduṇḍu*.—Beyond mentioning that it is a Telugu surname of this king no satisfactory interpretation has been forthcoming.

2. *Nilviolnayyambu*.—"The unstoppable friendship". *Nayyambu* is a corruption of *nēyambu* which is itself a corruption of *neśambu* (Skt. *Sneha*)

3. *Ventulavittu*—Not known.

4. *Pasarambu*.—Not known.

These Telugu names have been adduced by all writers on Pallava history to explain the Telugu origin of the "Mahendra style".

Among Tamil names not many are found here. There are only two and they read as :—

1. *Citrakārapuli*.—"Tiger among artists". Here the king has given the reader an inkling into his ambition and the key to his pursuits. His ambition is to become the foremost among the artists of the land. We can concede either that this title was bestowed on him by those architects who were scoffers to begin with but who subsequently began to appreciate his work, or that it was assumed by him to show his ultimate triumph. If the latter interpretation is accepted then surely it is the ejaculation of a successful artist who on seeing his ideas crowned with success in a manner that he himself probably did not anticipate bursts out in that fashion just as the weary traveller on sight of his goal would speed up to the place with the unconscious and spontaneous cry on his lip "goal". Surely, while engraving this *biruda*, the royal engraver is asking himself, "Am I the *Citrakārapuli* that I strove to be, and have I reached my goal's end after all?"

2. *Pugāpiḍuka* (Pagāppiḍugu).—"The thunderbolt that cannot be split". This term too indicates his triumph and an unshakable determination on the part of the king. Just as the thunderbolt cannot be split so also the king could not be thwarted or

1. *M. E. R.*, 1909, part II, pp. 74-5.

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diverted or weaned away from his noble task in the field of art and architecture. The earlier opposition to the king's ideas is easily indicated.

III. Kāñcīpuram.

The remains of a structural temple of Mahendravarman have been referred to already. One of its pillars contains the king's *birudas* on its four sides; these are given here in detail :—

Northern side of the pillar.—

Pisu (*ḍu*) *gu*, meaning the " thunderbolt ".

Vaṁbara.—This occurs on the fourth pillar (4th line, first word) of the upper cave at Trichinopoly. Its significance is not clear.

Bhrāntaḥ akari, (*akarot*) i. e., "The mad fellow made". We have seen the true import of this expression already.

Eastern side—

Cuṁbu,—Not clear.

Vaṁkaṁbu.— ,,

Vnāṟa.— ,,

Southern side—

Abhimukha.—Examined already.

Citrakārapuli.— ,,

Kūṟṟambu means "Yama or Death". This term occurs on the fourth pillar (3rd line, first word) in the upper cave at Trichinopoly.

Western side—

Ema.—Too fragmentary to convey any sense.

Kuvatroṇa ?—Not clear.

Mahāmegha, i. e., the great cloud. Probably the king is compared to a great cloud as he should shower on his subjects wealth and comfort even as the cloud showers rain vouchsafing good harvest.

Dṛḍhagatiḥ.—Examined already.

IV. Māmaṇḍūr.

The cave temple here resembles closely the cave at Śittaṇṇavāśal to which we shall come presently, and an inscription found here, though fragmentary, is of great importance to us as it speaks of the literary accomplishments of the king and his contributions in the sphere of painting, dance and music—a fascinating study indeed, which we shall relegate to the section

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"Fine Arts". The inscription which is mostly in anuṣṭubh verses is indeed a record of the glory and the prosperity that attended the king of such an artistic bent of mind.

V. Maṇḍagapaṭṭu.

Described already.

VI. Dalavānūr.

Daṇḍānata-narendreṇa Narendreṇ-aiṣa kāritaḥ |
Śatrumallena śaile-smin Śatrumalleśvarālayaḥ ||

" By the king, the queller of his foes (Śatrumalla), who has humbled inimical kings by his army, has been caused to be built on this hill an abode of the god named Śatrumalleśvara."

Śatrumalla is another *biruda* of Mahendravarman and occurs at Trichinopoly, Māmaṇḍūr, and Vallam.

VII. Vallam

The inscription in this temple is inTamil and is of importance to the student of history as it speaks of a feudatory of Mahendravarman who appears to have ruled in the vicinity of Chingleput and from whom the later Pallava Ko-Peruñjiṅga appears to have been descended. The temple here was the work of this feudatory who carried out the idea of his liege-lord. Probably Mahendravarman was aided in realising his ambition by this vassal of his. The inscription is spread on two pillars and runs as :

On the left pillar	*On the right pillar.*
Pagāppiḍugu Laḷitāṁkuraṉ	Śatturummallaṉ Guṇabharaṇ Mayendirap-pottareśaru aḍiyāṉ Vayantappiri areśaru magaṉ Kandaseṉaṉ śeyivitta Devakulam.

" The temple was caused to be built by Kandasena (Skt. Skandasena), the son of Vayantapriya-rāśa (Skt. Vasantapriya-rāja), who was a vassal of Mayendirappottareśaru (Skt. Mahendrapota-rāja), whose *birudas* are Pagāppiḍugu (*i.e.*, the thunderbolt that cannot be split), Lalitāṁkura, Śatrumalla and Guṇabhara".

Of these *birudas* examined already, the last one, Guṇabhara, (the bearer of virtues) occurs in Mahendravāḍi and Trichinopoly also.

VIII. Śīyamaṅgalam.

An inscription in Sanskrit (Āryā metre) speaks of the construction of this cave-temple by Mahendra who is referred to here by his *birudas* Lalitāṅkura and Avanibhājana. It reads as :

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1. Lalitāṁkureṇa rājñā-Ava-
2. nibhājana-Pallaveśvaran-nāma |
3. Kāritam-etat-svedhā (cchā)-karaṇḍa-
4. m-iva puṇyaratnānām ||

"By king Lalitāṅkura ("charming scion") was caused to be made this (temple) named *Avanibhājana-Pallaveśvara*, a casket as it were (worked at his will) and enclosing jewels, *viz.*, good deeds". By this simile the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

Avanibhājana-Pallaveśvara means 'the Īśvara (Śiva) temple of the Pallava king whose title was *Avanibhājana* ("earth-vessel", *i.e.*, he, whose glory fills the earth). *Avanibhājana* occurs in the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* written by the king and in the Chezarla inscription referred to already[1] and at Trichinopoly.

IX. Trichinopoly.—

'The inscriptions of Mahendravarman in the cave temple here are exhaustive and contain much information that will be useful to a student of Pallava history. That part of the inscriptions dealing with the so-called conversion of Mahendra from Jainism to Śaivism, thanks to the famous Śaivite saint Appar and the erection of a temple for Śiva on the hill and the placing of a *liṅga* in it and a portrait of the king himself, is in Sanskrit verses which have been published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30. The other part consisting of the *birudas* and other ordinary qualities of the king is supplied by the pillars of the cave. These *birudas* are of diverse origin, most of them in Sanskrit, some in Telugu and some others in Tamil. The name of the king is mentioned as "Mahendravikramaḥ". Then the title "mattavilāsa" follows. 'Among the several other titles and qualities that find place here (both in the verses and in the list of names) mention may be made of the following:—*Saṅkīrṇajāti*, *Lalitāṅkura*, *Guṇabhara* (abundance of virtues), *Satyasandha* (true) *Puruṣottama* (the best among men), *Śatrumalla*, *Nityavinītaḥ* (ever modest), *Nirapekṣaḥ* (the independent or the self-reliant or the resourceful), *Nilvulēnēyambu* (Telugu, "the unstoppable friendship") *Anityarāga* (not permanently drawn to pleasures or attachment), *Anumānaḥ* (the sophist or the good logician), *Avanibhājanaḥ* (whose glory fills the earth), *Abhimukhaḥ* (advancing or progressive), *Akaruṇaḥ* (the pitiless probably to his enemies or to vandals), *Alavala* (not clear),

1. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 595.

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Valampu (Tel. not clear), *Kilampu* (Tel. not clear), *Mlāyu* (Tel. not clear), *Virasaḥ* (void of desire), *Vyavasthitaḥ* (persevering), *Vyavasāyaḥ* (industrious), *Kaḍuntarambu* (Tel. not clear), *Karumpu* (Tel. inimical), *Kūṟṟambu* (Yama or Death), *Vambara*, *Nivambu*, (Tel. not clear), *Nayambu* (gentle or gentleness), *Naṟuku* (not clear), *Naihikāmutrikaḥ* (not attached to pleasures of this world or of the worlds beyond), *Narāpaśa*, *Vaṁbu*, *Vaṁkaḥ*, *Kuhakaḥ*, etc.

X. Śittaṉṉavāśal.—

The rock-cut temple here is identical with that at Māmaṇḍūr. As it has not been figured yet in works of Pallava architecture I attempt to give here a description of its architecture which is luckily simple and elegant. There are the usual four pillars supporting the roof of the cave, two standing in the middle and the other two, those at the ends, being embedded on the side of the cave, so that a portion of each alone projects. The central pillars are square in section with the usual octagonal belt in the centre and support capitals which present horizontal flutings. The capitals support the architrave, a long flat beam, which in turn supports a double flexured cornice. On either side of the cave is a niche in which is seated the figure of a Jaina Tīrthaṁkara carved in high relief, of almost life size. The back wall is divided into symmetrical compartments by ornamental pilasters, in the centre of which a plain entrance into the inner cell is located. A pair of steps flanked by *śuruḷ-yāḷis* leads to the entrance which opens into a cell, cubical in plan, with plain walls, and showing signs of having been once covered with paintings. On the side opposite to the entrance and facing the latter can be seen three seated figures in a row. These three, together with the two outside on the side-niches, reminding us of the *dvārapālas* in the other cave-temples of the king, are seated in the "samparyaṁka" pose with the legs crossed and the palms placed on the lap, one over the other—a pose specially prescribed for the Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras. It was Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil that started characterising this cave temple as Jaina. Though several other writers did not agree with him[1] the fact remains that it was intended for the Jaina gods and that Mahendravarman built that cave temple for his Jaina subjects. The identification receives support from the following facts :—The Jainas require often

1. *Triveni*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 91—93; Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 11.

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such caves for the performance of severe austerities such as the *sallekhanā* (*i.e.* doing penance, being in meditation and dying slowly by starvation). The place of the *dvārapālas* in this cave is taken by two Tīrthaṅkaras, both cross-legged and in the *yogic* pose. One of them has a curve over his head which may be taken to be the *chatra* or more probably the disc of the moon (*candra-kalā*). If the latter is possible, then the image must be taken to represent Candraprabha, the 8th Tīrthaṅkara. The identity of the other Tīrthaṅkara on the other side of the entrance is very clear. The cross-legged figure in the *yogic* pose has the serpent with five hoods over its head, a feature which marks Pārśvanātha out easily. Though Supārśvanātha, the 7th Tīrthaṅkara, ought also to have this distinguishing mark, the absence of the *svastika* in this case, which as we know is an additional mark required for Supārśvanātha, proves beyond any doubt that Pārśvanātha was alone intended. The three other Tīrthaṅkaras inside the cell remain for the present unidentified, as I have not examined them carefully with a view to find out the *lāñchanas* appropriate to them. But, as they are all in the *samparyaṅka* attitude, with no trace of any kind of drapery or ornament or the *yajñopavīta* on them, a feature shared by the two others outside, we have no hesitation in calling them all Tīrthaṅkaras and the cave itself a Jaina cave. The carving of these sculptures is marvellous for its precision and excellence of anatomy. The figures are natural and carry themselves with a grace though in an erect posture 'like a flame that flickereth not in windless space.'

The surface of the rock inside has been given a finish to suit it for the subsequent fresco-process. "The figures carved are not finished as such, for that was left to the painter's plaster and brush." The cave was intended, even when it was actually carved, to be painted over inside. The paintings must have originally covered the whole of the interior as there are traces of colour today on the ceiling, the pillars and their capitals. A description of these paintings will find a suitable place under painting in the section, 'Fine Arts'.

XI. Kuḍumiyāmalai.—

An inscription of the same characters as those found in the other records of Mahendravarman, and in any case dating from the 7th century was discovered at Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukotta state. It was incised on a rock on the slopes of

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the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmi temple of the place, and at the right end of the sixth and seventh sections of this inscription, the basement of a *maṇḍapa* belonging to an adjoining rock-cut temple called Mēlaikkōvil covered it up so that a few notes in each sub-section together with the words "samāptāḥ svarāgamāḥ" are lost. This inscription is devoted entirely to music and is said to have been engraved at the instance of a king, a disciple of Rudrācārya for the benefit of the pupils. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil has on sufficiently strong grounds, which we shall examine under 'Music', identified this unnamed king with Mahendravarman whom he calls an accomplished musician.

Fine Arts.

(a) *Painting.*

Some faint traces of paint were noticed on the walls of the Māmaṇḍūr cave by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who was sorry, however, to note that they yielded no satisfactory result. But the discovery of Pallava painting in the Śittaṉṉavāśal cave has made the study of this subject fascinating. It is easy to concede that Mahendra was indeed the lover of painting that he is described to be. The Māmaṇḍūr inscription proves this. As almost all the artistic hobbies and propensities of Mahendra are detailed in this important, though unfortunately fragmentary, record from Māmaṇḍūr, it is given below:—

1. Avinīta-kasamṛddha . . . . . vṛttamasya vija . . . . . gandharvvaśāstra-makhila . . . khilamukhodbhūta.

2. . prājāpatya . . . . . nā (dbh) āvanāgamanaḥ . . . . . pa . . . gandhānā . . ṁ-Pāñcāla-nirmmita.

3. khya . . . . nā . . ttā . . . (ṣikētuna) . . manobhirāma . . . maṁ . . Vālmīkivarṇṇita . .

4. Bharatā-nāya(ka) . . sabhā . . . vatsāpahāra . . (ri)-pūṇām vajrasāyakaḥ.

5. . . ma(kṛta) . . . . ndhata-Cēra-Pa . . . . . mudārā-rthamurvvaśī-sarvaśobhanā . .

6. . . . varīñca Nāṭakam || Vyāsakalpasya . . . . . ṃ Bhagavadajjuka . . . syaṁ Mattavilāsādipadaṁ-prahasanottamaṁ . .

7. . . pūrṇṇaṁ-prabhṛta . . . samuttejita . . . tuṣṭaya . . jayasya-patyaś-Śatrumallasya bhūbhujaḥ |

8. . . . yad-bhramarīvāptāsammadāḥ || Yā kavīnām-prakāśa . . vatta . . ṁprattis-samabuddhiriva sthitā

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9. . . . gurusvaravarṇṇayā purā tasyām kavigirajāsyārttha-vatāṁ . . . (ā) puṣṇuś-śiṣyatvamēyuṣaḥ.

10. . . . . prajñāmatisamanvitām || Prā . . . ṇōta . . . jyāyayā svaya . . .

11. . . . kalpāt pravibhajya . . vṛttiṁ Dakṣiṇacitrākhyaṁ (kāra) yitvā Yathāvidhi.

12. . . . śca vividhaiḥ kṛtvā varṇṇacaturttha (varṇṇañ-Candrārṇava) | Aprāptapūrvvan-nirvēṣṭuṁ vādyaśravaṇa . . . . kṛtavatīva . . . .

13. . . . kaṇṭhaśrutiguṇāvasādhāraṇasaṁpadā | Dṛṣṭ-vevōtkarṣaṇena . . . yinī . . . . kṣeva . . . .

14. . . . . yatō visaṁvādaṁ Lakṣmyā manōtsukatayā | Yasyāś-śīlaviśeṣa . . yāyata . . . . yādattamanna . . . . .

15. ke . . . kānti yathārtthēna candralekheva yā gatā gātriṇ-dhaha . . ta . . śāstreṣu nityavihitabudha . . . .

16. . . . . yeṣu parāṁ prīti . . . panta . . sya vapuṣaḥ || Nityavinītena Satyasaṁ(dhena) . . . sya bhaktyā-varjjita-mauḷinā

17. Sahasra . saṁpūrṇamēgha-śyāmasya garji . . . vada . . pati . . vattayā . . . . ||

As the inscription is hopelessly fragmentary it is not possible to attempt a translation of the verses that it contains. The utmost that one can obviously make out of them is just the gist or the substance of the whole record. It praises the poetical and the musical talents of the king. In the first line we find mention made of Gandharva-śāstra which means music. In the second line there is a reference to something made in or in vogue in the Pāñcāla country.[1] In the third line some work of Vālmīki (does this merely mean the excellence of Vālmīki as found in his immortal Rāmāyaṇa?) or something described by Vālmīki is mentioned. In the fourth line two terms "sabhā" and "vatsā (vastra) pahāra" give room for a conjecture that there is here probably a reference to some work of the times in which the outrage on the modesty of Draupadī, the heroine of the Mahābhārata by Duśśāsana in the "sabhā," *i.e.* court-hall, at the instance of Duryodhana formed the main theme. Some support is lent to this assumption by the term "Bharatā-nāyaka" at the beginning of the same line. Probably the expression "Bharatā-nāyaka" needs correction as "Bhārata-nāyaka". Evidently there was then at the time of Mahendravarman a

1. Does this refer to music during puppet-shows (*Pāñcālikās*)?

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popular play with the above scene from the Mahābhārata as its main theme which caught the fancy of Mahendra. Lines 5 and 6 probably make mention of a drama written by the king himself, the title of which finishes with the letters ". . varī" and in which the story of Vikrama and Urvaśī such as is recorded in the immortal play of Kālidāsa, the "Vikramorvaśīya", formed the main plot. This guess is warranted by the terms "Urvaśi sarvaśobhanā" in the 5th line and ". . . varī" and "nāṭaka" in the 6th line. The 6th line is also important for the valuable information that it gives with regard to the farce, entitled Mattavilāsa, the authorship of which is assigned in the *prastāvanā* of the work itself to Mahendravarman. The terms in this line that require elucidation are "Vyāsakalpasya—Bhagavadajjukasyam Mattavilāsādipadam-prahasanottamam"; these are fragmentary pieces from an anuṣṭubh which can be restored as follows:—

"Vyāsakalpasya *bhūpasya kāvyam* (or *sukavēr jetum*)
Bhagavadajjukam |
Hāsyam Mattavilāsādipadam Prahasanottamam ||"

Translation:—

"The farce Bhagavadajjuka is the work of the king who resembles sage Vyāsa himself; (so also) the best among farces that began with the term Mattavilāsa."

Or

"The best among the farces that began with the term Mattavilāsa (was produced) to eclipse the farce-Bhagavadajjuka which was the work of the great poet who resembled Vyāsa[1]."

This takes us to the question of the relative importance of the two farces, Bhagavadajjuka and Mattavilāsa, the authorship of the former and other points of literary importance which we shall discuss under "Literature".

Line 7 contains the terms "Śatrumallasya Bhūbhujaḥ" which prove that the king intended here is Mahendravarman whose *biruda* is "Śatrumalla" as examined already. In line 9 reference to musical sounds in the pitch (*guru*) expressed by letters is made. Line 11 is important for it contains the following verse almost restored:—

". . . . . Kalpāt pravibhajya . . . . |
Vṛttim Dakṣiṇa-citrākhyam (kāra) yitvā yathāvidhi ||"

1. I am indebted to my Professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for this suggestion.

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Translation :—"Classifying (the subject) from (an old standard) *kalpa* (*i. e.*, work on the subject) he caused to be compiled a commentary (*vṛtti*) called Dakṣiṇa-citra (*i.e.*, South Indian art or painting) following strictly the methods and the rules laid down for such a work."

It is evident that he analysed the subject of painting that was laid down in an earlier work (*kalpa*) which was probably cumbrous or not clear or which had perhaps to be revised in the light of later inventions in the field. The results of his analysis derived probably from a practical study of the subject he embodied in a treatise which conformed to the rules relating to such compositions and which he named Dakṣiṇa-citra or Southern Art or Painting.

Line 12.—If the reading "varṇacaturtha" is adopted it would mean that the king was the inventor of a fourth colour in painting. But if the other reading, *viz.*, "varṇam Candrārṇavam" is accepted the sense conveyed would be that the king by diverse ways designed a work on colour-process in painting which he named "Candrārṇava"

The latter half of line 12 and the first half of line 13 give the following idea :—The king wanted to achieve what was not achieved before in the realm of music. Seeing the various intonations of sounds that stringed musical instruments like the vīṇā alone could produce and actuated by a zeal and determination to produce the same results in vocal music, he designed, by dint of uncommon and superior resources probably a successful notation of musical sounds to be produced in vocal music. What is suggested here receives confirmation from the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription on music, which will be treated under "Music". Line 16 gives a few *birudas* of the king that occur at Trichinopoly also. Such are for instance *Nityavinīta* and *Satyasaṁdha*. There is a very interesting *anuṣṭubh* verse between lines 16 and 17 which can be restored as follows :—

Satyasaṁdhena (Rudrasya or Bhargasya or more probably) Siṁhasya Bhaktyā-varjjita-maulinā |
Sahasrakoṭisampūrṇameghaśyāmasya garjitam ||

"(The mandate) of Rudra or Brahmā or Siṁha (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu as Narasiṁha) who is dark like numerous thick clouds was proclaimed (to the world by this inscription) by Satyasaṁdha with his head bent with devotion to the god (*i.e.*, bowing).

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The idea indicated here is that the king echoed as it were (*garjitam*) the roar of Narasiṁha that art should be revived in the country in the manner indicated above. The terms "garjitam" (*i. e.*, was roared) and "sahasrakoṭisampūrṇamegha-śyāmasya" make the insertion of "siṁhasya" between "Satya-saṁdhena" and "bhaktyā . . . . " most appropriate, for a lion alone could roar and the lion in this case is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, whom scriptures describe and praise as "He of colour as dark as the cloud."

While reading this inscription one cannot help noting with regret the present damaged and consequently fragmentary condition of the record which, if it were only intact and well preserved, would have opened a new page in the history of art in South India under Mahendravarman and would have made us realise the import of that immortal title of his found in some of his cave-temples, *viz.*, "Citrakāra-puli" *i. e.*, tiger among artists. Now at least let us commune with this "Citrakāra-puli" who if he so styled himself did with legitimate pride and deservedly. But if it was bestowed on him as was more probably the case it should have been done by an appreciative grateful artist-world.

Let us turn our attention now to actual painting in the cave-temples of Mahendravarman. We have it on the authority of Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who visited the Māmaṇḍūr cave as early as 1915-16 that he found traces of paint. When I happened to visit the cave with a view to study the damaged inscription early in 1931, I found very little of these traces and what actually showed appeared to me as of no interest. It was in fact the inscription that riveted my attention all the time I stayed in the temple. Thus we have to content ourselves with the frescoes at Śittaṉṉavāśal for our study of the technique in Pallava painting started by the illustrious Mahendra.

Śittaṉṉavāśal.—

The architecture and sculptural details of this cave-temple have already been narrated. Its painting shall now be examined.

From a verse, "śaiveyam mama citrakarma-racanā bhittim vinā vartate" found in the well-known Sanskrit drama "Mudrā-Rākṣasa" by Viśākhadatta of the 6th century A.D. we get to know that "Bhitti-citra" *i.e.*, wall or fresco-painting, was very popular as otherwise it could not have been drawn for literary metaphors. *Citra-lepya-kṛts* or fresco-painters are referred to by poet Rājaśekhara of 900 A.D. as being assigned seats by the side

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of poets of Apabhraṁśa language in the court-halls of kings. It would thus appear that they were assigned a high position in society which "is an index of the popularity of the art of painting"[1]. *Bhitti-citra* was in fact such a noble hobby of even ruling monarchs that from a few manuscripts, out of a horde of several of them that have luckily escaped destruction we get to appreciate their proficiency in the various branches of learning (*kalā*) more particularly in painting. To those earlier standard works on the subject such as Nārada's, "Sarasvatī and Brahmā", and the "Citra-sūtra" chapters of the "Viṣṇudharmottara" we have to add the later royal contributions such as the Western Cāḷukya king Someśvara's immortal "Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi" dating from the 12th century and the still later or to speak correctly modern "Śivatattva-ratnākara" compiled from earlier works on the subject by the Keladi chief Basavarāja (1709 A. D.). The 6th *kallola*, 2nd *taraṅga* of the last mentioned work introduces us to "bhitti-citra" in the palace-hall where the king has very ably analysed the subject as follows :—

vv. 2-74- (1) How to prepare *vajralepa*, pens and brushes for painting.
(2) Selection of colours to suit different themes.
(3) Description of natural (original) and artificial (mixed) colours.
(4) Artificial colour-its ingredients.
(5) Anatomy of pictures-measurements of the *avayavas* and parts of pictures.

vv. 75-81. (1) Classification of pictures.
(2) Places best suited for painting different kinds thereof.

vv. 82-161. Measurements of pictures in general and of their *avayavas* in particular.

The whole subject is dealt with in 160 verses in a chapter which the author characterises as "Varṇasamyojana, Citra-lekhana, pratimā-lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇam".

Having had a peep into those early *citra-śālās* or picture galleries, thanks to the innumerable literary references attesting to their existence, it is our pleasant task now to examine the fresco-paintings at Śittaṇṇavāśal with a view to find out how best the cave answered the description of a *Citra-śālā* or picture-gallery.

Being the most perishable of the fine arts the painting in this cave has suffered a good deal owing to age and age-long neglect

1. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 14.

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and indifference, darkening of the interior of the cave by smoke from the fire of way-side wandering pilgrims who appear to have cooked their food in, even as they do to-day, the peeling off of the plaster here and there owing of course to neglect and the almost horrible vandalism to which it has been subjected at the hands of cattle-boys, the natives of the soil and the over-zealous Census recorder. This vandalism has been described by Mr. M. S. S. Sarma, who has made beautiful copies of the remaining frescoes (some of which are figured by Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*") as follows : " . . . much of what remains intact has been also darkened by smoke from fires lit in the cave by resting *bairāgis*. Balls of dung have been freely hurled at the ceiling; evidently the village urchins must have used the picture on the ceiling as a good target for their balls of dung and clay, which can now be seen sticking here and there ! Any attempt to remove them brings away the plaster too, so that they are better left there to tell their tale too. . . . . With regard to the very facet of the pillar wherein is located the dancing figure . . ., the delicate brush lines of the master-artist have been marred ruthlessly by the crude brush, probably of the census enumerator whose only paint is black tar, with the result that you find there, in hideous prominence, the figure 165 with something more added on to it [1]". Surely the entire cave must have been covered with paintings, for traces of paint are seen everywhere inside the dark cave " as you become more and more familiar with the contents of the cave ". Even as in Māmaṇḍūr and at Mahābalipuram[2] the sculptures in the cave reveal traces of plaster and colour. The credit of discovering these paintings ought strictly to go to the late lamented Gopinatha Rao, who communicated his discovery to his scholar-friend, Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who forthwith drew the attention of the world by means of a leaflet and an article in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LII, pp. 45-47) with a tracing of the outline of a well-preserved dancing figure. With his remarkable precision in judgment and the instinct of a born archæologist he was able to determine that "—1. The process of Pallava painting is similar to that of the Ajaṇṭā paintings.

2. The painting of the Pallavas was, perhaps, even more beautiful than their sculpture.

1. *Triveni*, Vol. III, No. I., p. 68; Vol. IV, No. I, pp. 94—95.
2. J. Dubreuil, *Pallava Painting*, p. 1.

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3. The Śittaṉṉavāśal cave is a Jain temple "[1]. After closely examining the Śittaṉṉavāśal paintings and sculptures we have only to conclude that the Professor is remarkably correct in his estimation. The sculptures which represent Tīrthaṅkaras have been already examined. The paintings alone remain.

Before taking to a study of these it is interesting to note that the name of the place, Śittaṉṉavāśal is so un-Tamilian that to explain its derivation we have to look to its Saṃskrit or Prākṛt form. In Sanskrit it will be " Siddhānām vāsaḥ " *i. e.*, the abode of the *Siddhas* or ascetics and in Prākṛt " Siddhaṇṇa-vāsa". As we know that the Jainas and the Buddhists had a special leaning towards Prākṛt culturally we shall take the Prākṛt form as the nucleus of the modern Tamil name of the place, Śittaṉṉavāśal. The term " siddha" is of special value to us for our study for we know that the " siddhas " occupy a pre-eminent place in Jaina iconography and worship. Among the *pañca-namaskāras* that every follower of the Jaina faith should make the first *namaskāra* is reserved for the " Siddha". And in Jaina cosmology the highest place or heaven (to use a common and popular term) is spoken of as the *Siddhaloka*, the denizens of which are the *siddhas* or the liberated souls whom even the Tīrthaṅkaras worship prior to initiation (*dīkṣā*).[2] The Jaina ascetics of the place naturally required solitary places like the cave under discussion for the performance of their austerities and *dhyāna*. The rocky nature of the country afforded them ample cave-resorts, one of which was the one under discussion which was embellished with sculptures and paintings by a royal patron of rare artistic taste, who was probably drawn to the place either because of the sanctity of the place or because of his fervour for the Jaina religion—a point which we relegate for discussion at the end of this paper, while discussing the religion of Mahendra.

Of those paintings of the place that are intact, careful copies have been made by Mr. M.S.S. Sarma of Madras, some of which have been figured by Mehta in his book on " Studies in Indian Painting ". I have seen his copies in colour and was struck by their fidelity to the originals. They have been drawn to correct scale and have been properly toned.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, p. 45.
2. This has been dealt with in detail by me in my monograph on Jaina painting, to be published as a volume of the Madras Museum Bulletin.

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The plaster serving as the primed ground is very thin, of about an eighth of an inch and has adhered to the surface of the rock so well that it is not easy to remove its traces. Particles of husk and straw can be seen in some places and the lime appears to have been mixed up with fine sifted sand. At Bagh one finds lime mixed up with cow-dung. My friend Mr. Chitra of the Madras School of Arts tells me that the latter mixture would give a suitable ground for the best colour-effect. The colours used are not many ; those used are red, yellow, blue, green, black and white. Mr. M. S. S. Sarma has examined them very carefully and tells me that they are natural colours or "vegetable colours" as the local Tamil painters would call them. A bit of the primed ground furnished by the lime-mixture was tasted by him and found to be sweet. While only one variety in each of black, green, blue and white pigments is found, red and yellow have two varieties each. Red has "red ochre" and "vermilion", and yellow "yellow ochre" and "bright golden".

The colour scheme is harmonious and simple, the colours being well soaked into the surface and given a final polish with probably small prepared pebbles. It is natural, without any elaborate attempt at light and shade. The backgrounds are mostly red or green. The paintings are essentially linear; they "began and ended with outlines, and the boldness and firmness displayed in them are really marvellous", "every form being brought out firmly by its decided outline". It has been supposed that the first outline here must have been done with red ochre as at Ajaṇṭā, an inference which is but natural as, in the case of such paintings, time, exposure, weather and natural decay would tend to obliterate everything else save the red outlines. But according to Mr. M. S. S. Sarma the execution here was different. "The cuncuma (*Kuṅkuma*) stem which Indian ladies use even to-day in their toilet is the thing that was used for the preliminary outline. The alkaline nature of the fresh ground converted the yellow of the stem into a rich red colour which was then fixed by outlines of different appropriate colours, thus parcelling out the ground for subsequent coats of colour. The outlines then were emphasised with suitable tints here and there. When the surface moisture is gone, but when the ground is still damp, light shading by hatching and stippling is indulged in, and afterwards, before the ground completely dries up, the whole is given a

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polish with small prepared pebbles[1] ". The linear draughtsmanship reveals a knowledge of anatomy and perspective far advanced.

The chief decorative *motif* in the whole cave is the lotus with its stalk, leaf and flower. As Dr. Dubreuil has remarked in his "Pallava Painting", "The decoration of the capitals of the two pillars of the facade is well preserved and consists of painted lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance", the pillars being adorned with the figures of dancing girls. The ceiling of the inner cell reveals a geometrical design, complicated, most of which has been unfortunately obliterated. Of those fragments that are luckily intact and have been copied by Mr. Sarma, that on the ceiling of the verandah is the most interesting. It is located in the centre of the ceiling and is flanked by two simple decorative panels with designs looking like carpets spread. A lotus tank in blossom with fishes, geese and other birds, animals such as buffaloes and bulls and elephants and three men, who are according to Dr. Dubreuil "surely Jains" wading through, gathering lotus flowers, is the subject treated. While the water of the tank alone is treated in a conventional manner the rest is done in a most natural, elegant and simple manner. The fishes and the geese play about in the tank here and there and recall a pleasant paradise. Lotus leaves are made to stand as the background of every lotus flower in bloom. Of the three men, whose pose, colouring and the "sweetness of their countenance are indeed charming" two stand close to each other while the third stands alone at the right hand end of the fresco. The skin of two is dark-red in colour while that of the third is bright yellow or golden.

While both Mehta and Sarma do not agree with Dr. Dubreuil who identifies the scene depicted as "probably from the religious history of the Jains", we are of opinion that the French archaeologist is seldom wrong in his surmises and if he errs at all he errs rather on the right side than on the wrong one. The scene depicted is one of the most attractive heavens that find a place in the "Samavasarana" or heavenly pavilion created by Saudharmendra for the Jina to sit and discourse, the moment that he becomes a "kevalī". Seated in the *Gandhakuṭi* within the "Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa," which in turn is in the centre of the whole *samavasaraṇa* structure, the Tīrthaṅkara or the Jina holds the divine discourse attended by all pomp. A *divyadhvani*

1. *Triveni*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 72.

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emanates from Him which is interpreted by the *Gaṇadharas*, the occupants of the first *koṣṭa*, which is one of the 12 *koṣṭas* surrounding the seat of the Jina containing god's creation that had come to witness the grand scene of the Lord's discourse. The structure including the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*, wherein the 12 *koṣṭas* or compartments are located, and the *Gandhakuṭi* with the Lord in it is surrounded by seven *bhūmis* or regions, each region being encircled by a rampart called *vedikā* or *śāla*. Those that are *bhavyas*, *i.e.*, those good people who will have the good fortune to attend the Lord's discourse in the *samavasaraṇa* structure have to pass through these regions before they repair to their respective *koṣṭas* in the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*. The second *bhūmi* or region is called the "Khātikā-bhūmi" or the region of the tank. According to the "Śrīpurāṇa" (a manuscript in Tamil-Grantha in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library), a work on Digambara Jaina iconography, this region is described as a delightful tank with fishes, birds, animals and men frolicking in it or playing in it. The *bhavyas* are said to get down into the tank, wash their feet and please themselves as best as they can. And our painting shows this tank-region with those men pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants and bulls and birds and fishes are frolicking about and pleasing themselves too as best as they can.[1]

The other paintings in a tolerable state of preservation are two dancing figures on the cubical pillars that catch our eye as we enter the cave. They have been figured by Mehta in his book in plates 3 and 4. The one on the right side is not so well preserved as the one on the left, a sketch of which was published by Dr. Dubreuil in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, p. 46. From a sketch of the figure left out by Dr. Dubreuil but figured by Mehta in plate 4 of his book we can see that the left hand of the danseuse is stretched out gracefully in the *daṇḍa-hasta* pose. The left hand of the other figure (figured by Dr. Dubreuil) is thrown in the *gaja-hasta* pose. Both are treated with singular grace, their supple movements being rendered with ease, charm and sureness that could result only from the closest observation and aesthetic insight. Mr. Mehta was so much attracted by these danseuses that he bursts out as follows :—'It was left to the artists of

1. A detailed description of the *samavasaraṇa* which occurs in the Digambara Jaina paintings at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam near Kāñcīpuram finds a place in my work on "Jaina painting" to be published as a volume of the Madras Museum Bulletin.

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Southern India to crystallize into immortal form, the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movement, as seen respectively in the glorious figures of swaying *Apsaras*, "loaded with jewelled ornaments, broad-hipped, narrow-waisted, powerful and graceful as panthers", and in the noble conception of Siva as Naṭarāja-the Divine Dancer".[1]

On the inner side of the right-hand pillar as we face the cave can be seen a beautiful head with traces of a figure in front and of a woman's head behind. It has been figured in plate 1 of Mehta's book. I examined the copy of Mr. Sarma which shows many more details than Mr. Mehta's. It is that of a splendid figure with an ornamental coronet or head-dress and with *patra-kuṇḍalas* in both the ears. While we agree with Mr. Mehta's description of the figure as "an impressive study . . . showing the strength of delineation and directness of treatment which belonged to the palmy days of Ajanta and Bagh"[1] we are unable to accept his identification of the figure as Ardhanārīśvara or Mahādeva. The figure is surely that of a king accompanied by his wife whom he probably leads into the shrine. Such is the purpose in relegating this painting on the inner side of the pillar as if the persons are heading towards the interior of the shrine. The *patra-kuṇḍalas* and the ordinary coronet (not *jaṭā-makuṭa* as Mehta describes it to be) show that Śiva was not intended. And Śiva has no place in a Jaina shrine. We are unable to see in the figure any divinity of expression that should go as a monopoly to Śiva alone. Such dignity, if any, can go to the king of the land also, who in this case ought to be the royal artist Mahendravarman I. That the figure behind him is that of his wife and that he is in the act of going with her to the shrine can be easily inferred if we bear in mind that the Varāha cave at Mahābalipuram contains a portrait of Mahendravarman heading towards the shrine, accompanied by two of his queens, the nearer of whom he appears to be leading by her right hand, while his half-raised right hand points towards the shrine.[2] He was probably similarly engaged here, though only the head of the king remains with the outline of what looks like a feminine face, which we have assumed to be that of his queen.

The discussion over this head takes us to the still more fascinating study of the newly-discovered fresco-paintings in the

1. Mehta, p. 12.
2. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kāñchī*, p. 88.

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Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. The credit of their discovery goes again to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who has brought to our notice marvellous Pallava frescoes executed in the same style as those of Śittaṉṉavāśal. Mr. Sarma has taken copies of these also, two of which have been photographed and published in the *Triveni*, (Vol. IV, No. 1). Fig. 1 shows the outline of the left side of a man, probably a king, with an expression identical with that of Mahendra at Śittaṉṉavāśal. I had been to the Kailāsanāṯha temple several times and have seen them and three others also exposed by the Professor. The paintings cannot date earlier than 690 A. D., for the temple came into existence only then during the rule of Narasiṁhavarman II *alias* Rājasiṁha. The tradition regarding paintings should have descended down to Mahendra's successors who were probably also artists like their illustrious predecessor. What has been exposed consists of 5 heads of which only one is entire. Among the others, one is the right half of a man's *torso*, another shows the fore-arm and three fingers of a hand, a third shows another half-head and a fourth the head of probably a child with a small coronet on head. A panel contains the design of two vases placed alongside. Traces of drapery or figure, rather fragmentary, are made out here and there, also traces of "crude brush lines" which Mr. Sarma thinks to be of far later date.

In the few that are visible, the outlines are clear and sharp and the colouring bright and rich. The lines flow in curves and have been done in a masterly manner so as to look as if they were designed without any effort. The heads so far revealed are those of men, graceful and dignified. The head that Mr. Sarma figures in the *Triveni* as No. 1 (Vol. IV, part I) is easily the best, though half eaten away. The left eye that alone remains "sits charmingly over the left cheek and is full of pathos and feeling revealing a whole world of its own". It is hoped that the coats of white wash that the cells in this temple have had periodically will soon be removed carefully and when these are removed much more of these paintings are likely to be exposed. Even in the Śittaṉṉavāśal temple the inner cell shows on the floor a round stone piece inserted in its centre. Does it lead to a cell underneath? And does the cell underneath also treasure paintings, which, if so, must be in a state of excellent preservation? This awaits further investigation.

(To be continued.)

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EXTRACTS FROM JAYANANDA'S COMMENTARY.

BY

N. AIYASWAMI, MYLAPORE.

Skye. ba. med. pa. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gaṅ. don. dam. pa. yoṅs. su. grub. pai. raṅ. bshin. can. de. raṅ. gi. bdag. ñid. kyis. skye. ba. med. pai. phyir. skye. ba. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. de. (lyl. daṅ) ñid. rgyu. daṅ. rkyen. gyis. ma. skyed. pai. phyir. ma. skyes. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| de. kho. na. ñid. kyi. raṅ. bshin. (f. 137 b) de. ñid. ñon. moṅs. pai. kun. nas. ñon. moṅs. pa. bral. bai? chos. thams. cad. raṅ. bshin. kyis. rnam. par. grol. pa. yin. pas. na. dben. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| gdod. ma. nas. rnam. par. dag. pa. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. yoṅs. su. grub. pai. raṅ. bshin. de. ñid. la. ṙnar. skye. ba. med. pas. tha. mar. chos. thams. cad. hgag. pa. yod. pa. yin. pas. gdod. ma. nas. rnam. par. dag. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| spros. pa. med. pa. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. don. dam. pai. raṅ. bshin. de. ñid. kyi. hdsin. par. byed. pai. yaṅ. dag. pai. śes. pa. la. spros. pa. med. pas. des. bzuṅ. bar. bya. bai. chos. thams. cad. la. spros. pa. med. pa. shes. byao|| des. na. spros. pa. med. par. mñam. ñid. do|| blaṅ. ba. med. pa. daṅ| dor. ba. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. daṅ| shes. bya. ba. ni. don. dam. pai. raṅ. bshin. de. ñid. la. bya. ba. med. pai. phyir. skye. ba. gshan. du. phuṅ. po. gshan. yoṅs. su. dor. ba. daṅ| phuṅ. po. gshan. len. pa, don. dam. par. med. pas. blaṅ. ba. daṅ. dor. ba. med. pai. phyir. blaṅ. ba. med. pa. daṅ| dor. ba. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do||

= अनुत्पादेति । यः परमार्थः परिनिष्पन्नस्वभावः सः स्वात्मतः अनुत्पादात् अनुत्पादसमता । सैव हेतुप्रत्ययाभ्यामजातत्वात् अजातसमता । तत्त्वस्वभावा सैव क्लिष्टासंक्लिष्टसर्वधर्मस्वभावविमुक्तत्वात् विविक्तसमता । आदिविशुद्धेति । परिनिष्पन्नस्वभावस्य तत्त्वस्य आदौ अनुत्पन्नत्वात् अन्तर्धर्मः सर्वः प्रतिषिद्ध इति आदिविशुद्धसमता । निष्प्रपञ्चेति । परमार्थस्वभावतत्त्वग्राहकसम्यग्ज्ञानस्य निष्प्रपञ्चत्वात् तद्ग्राह्यसर्वधर्मस्य निष्प्रपञ्चतेत्यतः निष्प्रपञ्चसमता । अनाव्यूहानिर्व्यूहसमतेति । परमार्थस्वभावस्य तत्त्वस्य निर्व्यापारत्वात् जन्मान्तरे स्कन्धान्तरपरित्यागः स्कन्धान्तरपरिग्रहश्च परमार्थतो नास्ति इति आव्यूहनिर्व्यूहाभावात् अनाव्यूहानिर्व्यूहसमता ॥

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Chos. thams. cad. sgyu. ma. lta. bu. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. la. sems. can. daṅ. snod. kyi. hjig. rten. gis. bsdus. pai. dṅos. po. rnams. sgyu. ma. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| sgyu. mas, sprul. pai. glaṅ. po. che. la. sogs. pa. bshin. du. med. pa. la. yod. pa. ñid. du. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| yul. la. loṅs. spyod. pai. mtshan. ñid. can. ni. rmi. lam. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| sñiṅ. po. med. pa. la. mṅon. par. chags. pa. skye. ba. yin. pai. phyir. ro|| lus. kyi. las. kyi. raṅ. bshin. can. rnams. kyi. mig. yor. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| chos. thams. cad. bya. ba. med. pa. yin. du. zin. kyaṅ. mig. yor. bshin. du. lus. kyi. bya. ba. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| brag. ca. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. ṅag. gi. las. kyi. raṅ. bshin. can. rnams. brag. ca. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| sñiṅ. po. med. pa. la. brag. ca. bshin. du. sgrai. lam. du. hjug. pas. so|| chu. zla. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. hdod. pa. na. spyod. pai. chos. rnams. chu. zla. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| chui. zla. ba. bshin. du. sṅon. gyi. las. (f. 138 a) kyi. rnam. par. smin. pa. snaṅ. ba. yin. te| chui. zla. ba. bshin. du. las. ci. lta. ba. daṅ. rjes. su. mthun. par. skye. ba. yin. pai. phyir. ro|| gzugs. brñan. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gzugs. daṅ. gzugs. med. pa. na. spyod. pai. chos. rnams. gzugs. brñan. daṅ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| gzugs. daṅ. gzugs. med. pa. na. spyod. pai. tiṅ. hdsin. rnams. kyi. gzugs. brñan. [du.] hchar. ba. yin. pas. so|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. mñam. pa. ñid. du. byed. pai. phyir| tiṅ. hdsin. la. sñoms. par. hjug. pa. shes. brjod. par. bya| sprul. [pa] blta. ba. mñam. pa. ñid. daṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. yoṅs. su. dag. pai. saṅs. rgyas. kyi. śiṅ. gi. raṅ. bshin. can. rnams. sprul. pa. ñid. du. mñam. pa. yin. te| de. rnams. raṅ. gi. sems. yoṅs. su, dag. pas. sprul. pai. phyir. ro|| yaṅ. na. naṅ. gi. khams. ni. sgyu. ma. lta. bu. yin. te| sems. min. mñam. pa. ñid. yin. du. zin. kyaṅ. sems. can. gyi. raṅ. bshin. du. snaṅ. bas. so|| phyii. khams. rmi. lam. lta. bu. ste| rmi. lam. bshin. du. bdsun. bai. raṅ. bshin. yin. du. zin. gyi. yul. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| skyes. bu. chen. poi. mtshan. ñid. la. sogs. pas. brgyan. pai. saṅs. rgyas. kyi. gzugs. kyi. skus. bsdus. pa. ni. mig. yor. lta. bu. ste| yoṅs. su. dag. pai. chos. kyi. sku. yis. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| bstan. pai. chos. kyis. bsdus. pa. thams. cad. ni. brag. ca. lta. bu. ste| brag. ca. bshin. bcom. ldan. hdas. kyi. mthus. thos. pai. phyir. ro|| sṅon. gyi. las. kyis. bsdu. bai. hbras. bu. thams. cad. ni. chu. zla. ba. lta. bu. ste| las. ni. ci. lta. ba. bshin. du. skye. ba. yin. pas. so|| saṅs. rgyas. kyi. śiṅ. khams. yoṅs. su. dag. pas. bsdus. pa. rnams. ni. gzugs. brñan. lta. bu. ste| sgrib. pai. dri. ma. daṅ. bral .bai. sems. kyi. me. loṅ. la. gzugs. brñan. bshin. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| hdus. byas. thams. cad. sprul.

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pa. lta. bu. ste| sñiṅ. po. med. du. zin. kyaṅ.....ci. lta. ba. bshin. du. rgyu. daṅ. rkyen. gyis, sprul. pa. ñid. du. snaṅ. bai. phyir. ro|| sgyu. ma. lta. bu. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs (f. 138b) pa. de. rnams. ni. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| gdod. ma. nas. ṅo. bo. ñid. med. pai. phyir. ro|| rno. shiṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. daṅ. po. la. bltos. nas. śin. tu. mchog. tu. gyur. pai. phyir. ro|| rjes. su. mthun. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. saṅs. rgyas. chos. [xyl.: kyis.] daṅ. rjes. su. mthun. pao|| bzod. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. mi. skye. bai. chos. la. bzod. pas. so||

= सर्वधर्ममायोपमेति । तत्र सत्त्वभाजनलोकसंगृहीतानां भावानां मायासमता । मायानिर्मितमहागजादिवत् अस्तां सत्त्वेन दर्शनात् । विषयभोगलक्षणस्य स्वप्नसमता । असारेऽभिनिवेशोत्पन्नत्वात् । कायिककर्मस्वभावानां प्रतिभाससमता । सर्वधर्मेषु निर्व्यापारेष्वपि प्रतिभासवत् कायिकव्यापारदर्शनात् । प्रतिश्रुत्केति । वाचिककर्मस्वभावानां प्रतिश्रुत्कसमता । असारे प्रतिश्रुत्कवत् शब्दमार्गावतरणात् । उदकचन्द्रेति । कामावचराणां धर्माणाम् उदकचन्द्रसमता । उदकचन्द्रवत् पूर्वकर्मविपाको भासते । उदकचन्द्रवत् यथाकर्मानुरूपमुत्पन्नत्वात् । प्रतिबिम्बेति । रूपारूपावचराणां धर्माणां प्रतिबिम्बसमता । रूपारूपावचरसमाधीनां (धिषु ?) प्रतिबिम्बतयोदयात् । अत एवोच्यत समताकरणात् समाधिः समापत्तिरिति । निर्माणोपमसमतयेति । परिशुद्धबुद्धक्षेत्रस्वभावा निर्माणतासमाः । तेषां परिशुद्धस्वचित्तेन निर्मितत्वात् । अथवा आध्यात्मिको धातुर्मायोपमः । अचित्तसमत्वेऽपि सचित्तस्वभावत्वेन दर्शनात् । बाह्यो धातुः स्वप्नोपमः । स्वप्नवत् मृषास्वभावस्यापि विषयस्य दर्शनात् । महापुरुषलक्षणाद्यलङ्कृतबुद्धरूपकायसंगृहीतं प्रतिभासोपमम् । परिशुद्धधर्मकायेन भासनात् । देशनाधर्मसंगृहीतं सर्वं प्रतिश्रुत्कोपमम् । प्रतिश्रुत्कवत् भगवत्प्रभावेण श्रुतत्वात् । पूर्वकर्मसंगृहीतं सर्वं फलम् उदकचन्द्रोपमम् । कर्मणो यथावत् उत्पन्न(अनुत्पन्न ?)त्वात् । परिशुद्ध बुद्धक्षेत्रधातुसंगृहीतानि प्रतिबिम्बोपमानि । आवरणमलविगतचित्तादर्शे प्रतिबिम्बवत् भासनात् । सर्वसंस्कारः निर्माणोपमः । असारत्वेऽपि ..... यथावत् हेतुप्रत्ययाभ्यां निर्मितृतया दर्शनात् । मायोपमेत्यादीनां तेषां समता । आदितो निस्स्वभावत्वात् । तीक्ष्णयेति । प्रथमभूमिमपेक्ष्य उत्तमभूतत्वात् । आनुलोमिक्येति । बुद्धधर्मानुलोमिक्या । क्षान्त्येति । अनुत्पत्तिधर्मक्षान्त्या ॥

de. ltar. luṅ. las. gsuṅs. par. bsgrubs. nas| rigs. pa. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. hder. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuṅs. te|

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= एवम् आगमात् उक्तं प्रसाध्य युक्तिप्रतिपादनायाह । अत्रेत्यादि॥ ७॥

(f. 144 b, L. 4) gegs. ci. shig. yod. ces. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. yaṅ. skye. ba. la. gegs. gaṅ. shig. yod. ces. pao|| gaṅ. gis. shes. bya. ba. ni. gegs. byed. pas. so|| raṅ. skye. ba. bkag. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. raṅ. ñid. skye. shin. hbyuṅ. ba. dor. nas. so||

= कः प्रतिबन्ध इति । बीजस्य पुनरुत्पत्तौ कः प्रतिबन्धो भवेदिति । येनेति । प्रतिबन्धकरणेन । स्वोत्पत्तिप्रतिषेधादिति । बीजः स्वोत्पत्तिसंभवस्यागात् ॥ ९ ॥

(f. 145 a. L. 4) da. ni. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. kyaṅ. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir.| gshan. yaṅ. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| rdsas. kyi. khyad. par. yoṅs. su. hgyur. bas. thob. par. bya. ba. ste. shes. bya. ba. ni. rdsas. kyi. khyad. par. yoṅs. su. hgyur. ba. ste| shu. bas. thob. pao|| hdii. don. ni. pi. pi. liṅ. la. thog. mar. ro. tsha. ba. yod. du. zin. kyaṅ. shu. rjes. la. mṅar. ba. yin. no|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. mkhris. pa. sel. bar. byed. pa. yin. no|| shes. pao|| tha. mi. dad. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. bshin. duo||

= अधुना अभिन्नत्वमपि न युक्तमिति प्रतिपादनायाह । किञ्चेत्यादि । द्रव्यविशेषपरिणामप्राप्य इति । द्रव्यविशेषपरिणामो जरणलब्धः । अस्यार्थः । पिप्पली आदौ कटुरसत्वेऽपि जरणानन्तरं मधुरा । अत एव पित्तहरा भवति । इति । अभिन्न इति । बीजवत् ।

de. la. yoṅs. su. hgyur. ba. smra. ba. graṅs. can. na. re| ci. ste. sa. bon. gyi. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| ci. ltar. skyes. bui. gshon. nui. gnas. skabs. dor. nas. laṅ. tsho. la. [h] bab. pai. gnas. skabs. yin. kyaṅ. gnas. skabs. can. skyes. bu. gcig. ñid. yin. no|| de. bshin. du. hdir. yaṅ. nas. kyi. sa. bon. gyi. gnas. skabs. dor. nas. myu. (f. 145 b) gui. gnas. skabs. len. pa. yin. kyaṅ. gnas. kabs. can. ni. gcig. ñid. yin. no. she. na| de. la. lan. ni. de. ltar. na. yaṅ. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| sṅar. gyi. bdag. gi. dṅos. po. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. gyi. raṅ. bshin. no|| bsal. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. dor. nas. so|| de. las. gshan. ṅo. bor. gyur. na. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. de. las. gshan. pai. ṅo. bo. ste. myu. gui. ṅo. bor. gyur. nao|| dei. tshe. shes. bya. ba. ni. gshan. gyi. ṅo. bor. gyur. pai. tshe. nao|| dei. shes. bya. ba. ni. myu. guio|| de. ñid. ci. ltar. hgyur. shes. bya. ba. ni. myu. gu. sa. bon. las. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. du. ci. ltar. hgyur| hdii. don. ni. hdir. gaṅ. gnas. skabs. su. yoṅs. su. brtags. pa. de. gnas. skabs.

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can. las. tha. dad. dam| hon. te. tha. mi. dad| re. shig. tha. dad. pa. ma. yin. te| bum. pa. daṅ. snam. bu. bshin. du. dei. de. ṅo. bo. shes. hbrel. ba. med. par. thal. bar. hgyur. bas. so|| gal. te. bum. pa. snam. bu. dag. la. hbrel. ba. med. pa. yin. la| gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. la. hdu. bai. mtshan. ñid. kyi. hbrel. ba. yod. pa. yin la| des. na. de. dei. ṅo. bo. shes. brjod. par. rigs. pa. yin. she. na| de. lta. na. yaṅ. hbrel. ba. de. gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. las. tha. dad. dam| hon. te. tha, mi. dad| gal. te. tha. dad. na. dei. tshe. gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. dag. phan. tshun. ma. hbrel. ba. ñid. sṅa. ma. bshin. du. gnas. pa. yin. no|| gal. te. ma. hbrel. ba. daṅ| gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. la.hbrel. ba. bsgrub. pai. dṅn. du. hbrel. ba. gshan. khas. len. na. thug. pa. med. par. thal. bar. hgyur. ro|| gal. te. tha. mi. dad. na. ho. na. tha. dad. pa. daṅ. tha. mi. dad. pa. ni. tha. dad. pa. yin. te| gnas. skabs. [daṅ] gnas. skabs. can. bshin. shes. pai. rigs. pas. gnas skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. la. hbrel. ba. med. pa. de. sṅa. ma. bshin. du. gnas. pa. yin. te| hdi. ltar. gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. tha. dad. ciṅ. de. dag. daṅ. hbrel. ba. tha. mi. dad. pa. yin. pas. ji. (f. 146 a) ltar. gnas. skabs. daṅ. gnas. skabs. can. gyi. ṅo bo. tha. dad. pa. de. bshin. du. hbrel. ba. yaṅ. tha. dad. pai. phyir. phan. tshun. hbrel. ba. med. pa. kho. na yin. no|| dei. phyir. gnas. skabs. can. las. gnas. skabs. tha. dad. yod. pa. ma. yin no|| tha. mi. dad. pa. yin. na. gnas. skabs. shig. pas. gnas. skabs. can. yaṅ. shig. pas. ci. ltar. tha. mi. dad. par. brjod. ces. pas. so|| hdii. gshan. ma. yin. pa. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. myu. gui. sa. bon. las. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. do||

= तत्र परिणामवादिनः साङ्ख्या आहुः । अथ बीजेत्यादि । यथा पुरुषे कौमारावस्थामुत्सृज्य यौवनावस्थामवतीर्णेऽपि अवस्थाविशिष्टः पुरुष एक एव । तथात्रापि यवे बीजावस्थामुत्सृज्य अङ्कुरावस्थामाददानेऽपि अवस्थाविशिष्ट एक एव इति चेत् । तत्परिहरति । एवमपीत्यादि । पूर्वस्वभावमिति । बीजस्वरूपम् । अपसृत्येति । त्यक्त्वा । अन्यरूपस्तस्मादिति । तस्मात् बीजादन्यरूपोऽङ्कुररूपः । तदेति । अन्यरूपे । अस्येति । अङ्कुरस्य । कथं तत्त्वमिति । अङ्कुरो बीजादभिन्नतया कथं भवेत् । अस्यार्थः । अत्र या अवस्था परिकल्पिता । सा अवस्थावतो भिन्ना वा उत अभिन्ना वा । न तावद्भिन्ना । घटकम्बलवत् सा तत्स्वरूपा इति सम्बन्धाभावप्रसङ्गात् । ननु घटकम्बलयोः सम्बन्धो नास्ति । अवस्थावस्थावतोस्तु समवायलक्षणः सम्बन्धोऽस्ति । तेन सा तत्स्वरूपा इत्युक्तिर्युक्ता इति चेत् । एवमपि स सम्बन्धःअवस्थावस्थावतोर्भिन्नः उताभिन्नः यदि भिन्नः । तदा

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अवस्थावस्थावन्तौ मिथोऽसम्बद्धावेव पूर्ववत् तिष्ठतः । यद्यसम्बद्धयोरवस्थावस्थावतोः सम्बन्धसिद्ध्यर्थं सम्बन्धान्तरं स्वीक्रियते । अनवस्था प्रसज्येत। यद्यभिन्नः । तर्हि भिन्नाभिन्नो भिन्नः, अवस्थावस्थावन्ताविव इति न्यायेन अवस्थावस्थावतोः सम्बन्धाभावोऽयं पूर्ववदवतिष्ठते । तथा हि । अवस्थावस्थावन्तौ भिन्नौ । ताभ्यां सम्बन्धस्याभेदात् यथा अवस्थावस्थावत्स्वरूपे भिन्ने तथा सम्बन्धस्यापि भिन्नत्वात् मिथः सम्बन्धो नास्त्येव । तस्मात् अवस्था अवस्थावतो नास्ति भिन्ना । यद्यभिन्ना । अवस्थानाशेन अवस्थावानपि नष्ट इति कथमभिन्ना उच्यते । इति ॥ तदनन्यतेति । अङ्कुरस्य बीजादभिन्नता ॥ १० ॥

da. ni. bye. brag. pai. hdod. pas. rdsas. dań. yon. tan. smra. bai. dogs. pa. bsu. bar. bya. bai. phyir| ci. ste. sa. bon. dań. myu. gu. dag. ces. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| sogs. pai. sgra. ni. ser. bo. dań.| sńon. po. la. sogs. pai. kha. dog. rnams. bsdu. bar. byao|| rdsas. tha. mi. dad. do. shes. bya. bai. sheṣ. kyis. rdul. phra. rab. rnams. kyis. brtsams. pai. cha. śas. kyi. bdag. ñid. can. gyi. rdsas. tha. mi. dad. pao.|| hdii. don. ni. dper. na. bum. pa. la. sńon. po. dań. ser. bo. la. sogs. pa. kha. dog. tha. dad. pa. yod. du. zin. kyań. nus. pai. rdsas. gcig. ñid. yin. la| de. bshin. du. hdir. yań. dbyibs. la. sogs. pa. tha. dad. kyań. rdul. phra. rab. kyis. brtsams. pai. rdsas. ni. gcig. pa. yin. no. shes. pao|| de. la. lan. ni. hdi. ltar. ma. yin. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| dbyibs. la. sogs. pai. rten. ñid. du. shes. bya. ba. ni. ci. ltar. bum. pa. dań. sa. gshi. dag. las. tha. dad. las. tha. dad. du. dmigs. pai. phyir. tha. dad (xyl.: rten) pa. ñid. du. rnam. bshag. byed. pa. yin. la| de. bshin. du. hdir. yań. dbyibs. dań. rdsar. dag. tha. dad. du. mi. snań. bai. phyir. rdsas. tha. dad. pa. ñid. du. rnam. bshag. ci. ltar. byed. ces. pao|| gal. te. hdu. bai. hbrel. bai. stobs. kyis. rdsas. tha. dad. pa. ñid. du. mi. len. (xyl.: lin) no. she. na| ho. na. hdu. ba. de. rtag. pa. dań. gcig. pu. yin. pas. sa. bon. gyi. gnas. skabs. kyi. hdu. ba. gań. yin. pa. de. ñid. myu. gui. gnas. skabs. na. yań. yod. pa. (f. 146 b) yin. pas. gnas. skabs. gñis. su. gnas. skabs. gñis. dmigs. par. thal. bar. hgyur. ro|| skyon. gshan. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. gshan. yań. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuńs. te|

= अधुना वैशेषिकमतेन द्रव्यगुणत्वादिन आशङ्कामुत्थापयितुमाह । अथ बीजाङ्कुरयोरित्यादि । आदिशब्देन पीतनीलादिवर्णा गृह्यन्ते । द्रव्याभेद इति । परमाण्वारब्धावयवात्मकं द्रव्यमभिन्नम् । अस्यार्थः । यथा घटे नीलं

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पीतादिवर्णे भिन्ने सत्यपि शक्तिद्रव्यमेकमेव । तथा अत्रापि आकारादिभेदेऽपि परमाण्वारब्धं द्रव्यमेकमिति । तत्परिहरति । मैवमित्यादि । आकाराद्याश्रय इति । यथा घटमृदोर्भेदात् भेदेन उपलभ्यमानत्वात् भिन्नत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तथा अत्रापि आकारद्रव्ययोर्भेदेन अदर्शनात् द्रव्यभिन्नता कथं व्यवस्थाप्येत । यदि समवायसम्बन्धबलेन द्रव्यभिन्नता न गृह्यते । तर्हि स सम्बन्धो नित्य एकश्च । अतो यो बीजावस्थासमवायः स एवाङ्कुरावस्थायामप्यस्तीति द्वयोरवस्थयोरवस्थाद्वयोपलब्धिः प्रसज्येत । दोषान्तरप्रतिपादनायाह । अपि चेत्यादि ॥ ११ ॥

(L. 6.) de. ltar. raṅ. las. skye. bar. (xyl. adds. mi.) rigs. pai. gnod. pa. bstan. nas. hjig. rten. pai. gnod. bstan. par. bya. bai. bhyir| de. ltar. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| de. ñid. rtogs. par. hdod. pai. lugs. gshan. du. brtags. pai. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. mṅon. du. byed. par. hdod. pas. na. de. ñid. rtogs. par. hdod. pa. ste| mu. stegs. pa. rnams. so|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir| hdod. pa. shes. bya. ba. (f. 147 a) smos. te| rñed. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. pao|| lugs. gshan. shes. bya. ba. ni. graṅs. can. pa. la. sogs. pai. hdod. pao|| des. brtags. pa. ni. blos. brtags. pa. yin. gyi. dṅos. po. ni. yod. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. pao|| bzlogs. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. rigs. pai. sgo. nas. so|| lugs. gshan. du. blo. ma. sbyaṅs. pai. hjig. rten. gyi. tha. sñad. du. yaṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. grub. pai. mthah. la. mi. bltos. pai. phyir. lugs. gshan. du. blo. sbyaṅs. pa. ste. hjig. rten. gyi. tha. sñad. pa. gyur. pas. sbyaṅs. pai. hjig. rten. gyi. blo. gaṅ. yin. pa. dei. tha. sñad. kyis. so|| rtog. pa. hdi. shes. bya. ba. ni. raṅ. las. skye. ba. gaṅ. yin. pao|| hjig. rten. pai. tshad. mai. skyes. bui. hdod. pas. kyaṅ. raṅ. las. raṅ. skye. bar. ni. mi. hgrub. la| tha. mal. pai. skyes. bu. ni. hjig. rten. na. yaṅ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. mi. hdod. pas dei. phyir. blo. sbyaṅs. pa. shes. bya. ba. smos. pa. yin. no||

= एवं स्वत उत्पादे युक्तिबाधामभिधाय लोकबाधामभिधातुमाह । एवमित्यादि । तत्त्वावबोधकामानां मतान्तेरण परीक्षितमिति । तत्त्वस्यैव साक्षात्कर्तुमिष्टत्वात् तत्त्वावबोधकामास्तीर्थिकाः । अत एव कामेत्युक्तम् । न लाभिन इति । मतान्तरेति । साङ्ख्यादिमतम् । तत्परीक्षितो हि भावो न बुद्धिपरीक्षितो भवति । प्रतिक्षिप्येति । युक्तिद्वारा । मतान्तरेण विशुद्धबुद्धिलोकव्यवहारेणापीति । सिद्धान्तमनपेक्ष्य अन्येन मतेन विशुद्धबुद्धिर्लोकव्यवहारभूत इति यो विशुद्धलोकबुद्धिस्तद्व्यवहारेण । इयं कल्पनेति । या स्वत उत्पत्तिः । लोकप्रमाणपुरुषे-

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च्छयापि स्वत स्वोत्पत्तिर्न सिध्यति। प्राकृतपुरुषो लोकेऽपि प्रमाणतया नेष्यते। अत उक्तं विशुद्धबुद्धीति।

(L. 5.) phyogs. gñis. ka. ltar. na. yaṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. grub. pai. mthah. la. bltos. pai. phyogs. daṅ. hjig. rten. pai. phyogs. gñi. ka. ltar. na. yaṅ. ño|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. na. yaṅ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gaṅ. gi. phyir. phyogs. gñis. ka. ltar. na. yaṅ. raṅ. las. skye. ba. mi. rigs. pao|| khyad. par. du. ma. mdsad. ces. pa. ni. don. dam. pas. khyad. par. dú. ma. mdsad. pao|| khyad. par. byed. pas. shes. bya. ba. ni. raṅ. las. skye. ba. hgog. pa. la. don. dam. par. shes. bya. bai. khyad. par. khas. len. pao|| dei. don. dam. par. shes. bya. bai. khyad. par. don. med. shes. bya. ba. ni. (xyl.: de.) gaṅ. gi. phyir. phyogs. (xyl.: tshogs.) gñis. ka. la. yaṅ. raṅ. las. skye. ba. mi. rigs. (f. 147 b) pas. dei. phyir. don. dam. par. khyad. par. du. byas. pa. la. dgos. pa. ci. shig. yod. ces. pao||

= पक्षद्वयदृष्टयापीति । सिद्धान्तापेक्षितपक्षलोकपक्षयोरुभयोर्दृष्ट्यापि। अत एव चेति। यस्मात् पक्षद्वयदृष्ट्यापि स्वत उत्पत्तिर्न युक्ता। अकृतविशेषणमिति । परमार्थेन अकृतविशेषणम् । विशेषणं करोति इति। स्वत उपत्तिप्रतिषेधे परमार्थत इति विशेषणं स्वीकरोति । तस्य परमार्थत इति विशेषणं निरर्थकमिति। यतः पक्षद्वयेऽपि स्वत उत्पत्तिर्न युक्ता। ततः परमार्थविशेषणे कृते किं प्रयोजनमिति ॥ १२ ॥

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HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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The opinion of the author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam seems to me to be the most acceptable when we take into consideration the forms used in the literature from the Sangam period onwards. He has himself given quotations in his commentary on the sūtra 239. The following may be added to them.

vāḻiya nī (May you live long) (Ka. T. Vol., 2. 583. 21.)
vāḻiyar yāṉ (May I live long). (P. N. 365. 9.)
vāḻiyar pala (May many prosper). (P. N. 371. 25.)
nī vāḻiyar (May you live long). (P. N. 137. 14.)
ceytēṉ ākuka (May I be considered to have done it). (P. N. 71. 9.)
celvai y-ākuvai (May you be considered to have gone) (P. N. 70. 15.)

(The last two may be regarded as periphrastic formations.) In addition to these it seems the form *ceyyāy* also was used in the second person singular of the affirmative voice of the optative mood. (e.g.) *kāvāy kōvē* (Oh-king! may you protect) (Kampar. A. 241: 41.)

In colloquial speech such forms as *vāḻaṭṭum, vāḻakkaṭavāṉ vāḻakkaṭavāḷ* etc., are generally used in the third person.

3.2222232. *NEGATIVE VOICE:* In the negative voice such forms as '*peyaral*' formed by adding the negative particle *al* to the root are found. e.g., *niṉ coṟ peyaral* (P. N. 3. 14.) which means 'may your command never change'. They may have arisen under the following conditions:—Forms like *peyarāy-allāy* may have been in use in the second person singular similar to *celvēm allēm* (P. N. 36, 11) in the first person plural, *allāṉ allaṉ* (P. N. 97, 21) in the third person singular. Then *peyarāy-allāy* may have been reduced to *peyar-al* in the same way as *ceyyāy* to *cey*. Or forms like *peyar-alāy* may have been in use similar to *cel-*

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lalam (P. N. 101, 1), *aṟiyalam* (P.N. 239, 9.) and they may have been reduced to *peyar-al.*

In colloquial Tamil at present the form *vāḻāyāka* (I wish you not to prosper) is generally used in the negative voice. This may be considered to be a periphrastic formation made up of a negative verb in the negative voice of the indicative mood and the optative affirmative form *āka* of the root '*ā*'.

3.222224. *ECCAM* or *INFINITIVE MOOD* : *Eccam* is primarily divided into two classes *peyar-eccam* and *viṉai-y-eccam.*

3.2222241. *PEYAR-ECCAM* : *Peyar-eccam* corresponds to the participle in Sanskrit. It is of four kinds :—active affirmative relative participle, active negative relative participle, passive affirmative relative participle and passive negative relative participle. Each of these may be further divided into three according as it denotes the past, present or future action. Invariably each qualifies a noun following it.

3.22222411. *ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : According to Tolkāppiyaṉār the form *ceyta* is the past active affirmative relative participle and the form *ceyyum* is both the present and the future active affirmative relative participle.[1] The finite verbs, which take '*iṉ*' as in *uṟaṅkiṉāṉ* to denote the past, have their active affirmative relative participle in the form *uṟaṅkiya.* (e.g.,) *maṇ ṭiṇinta nilaṉum* (The land full of earth) (P. N. 2. 1.) ; *nilaṉ ēntiya vicumpum* (The sky which is above the land) (P.N. 2. 2.) ; *muttī-viḷakkil tuñcum poṟkōṭṭimayanum* (P. N. 2. 23, 24.) (The Himalayas with gold peaks where sleep (the deer) in the light of triad-fire). Here *tuñcum* is the present relative participle; *teṉpula vāḻnarkku aruṅkaṭaṉ iṟukkum . . . putalvar* (sons who offer oblations to manes residing in the south) (P. N. 9. 3). Here *iṟukkum* is the future relative participle. The form *ceykiṉṟa* as the present active affirmative relative participle is scarcely found anywhere in Sangam works. I came across the word '*cērkiṉṟa*' in the sentence '*cērikiṉṟa kaṇkaviṉ,* in Paripāṭal (Pari. 163. 35). This may be taken as a participial noun in the plural number meaning "those that join" and qualifying the plural

1. *Nilaṉum poruḷ-uṅ kālam-uṅ karuvi-y-um*
Viṉai-mutaṟ kiḷavi-y-um viṉai-y-u m-uḷa-p-paṭa
A-v-v-aṟu poruṭkum-ō r-aṉṉa v-urimaiya
Ceyyuṅ ceyta v-eṉṉuṅ collē. (Tol. Col. 234.)

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noun *kaṇ*. The form *'iṟavāniṉṟa*, which is found in Kuṟaḷ 1157 may be explained in the same way.

But in the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, present active affirmative participles of the forms *ceykiṉṟa* and *ceyyāniṉṟa* are found in large numbers.

(e.g.) *celvam-uyarkiṉṟa celvar* (Rich men who are becoming richer). (T. 1. 5.)

cellāniṉṟa āṇṭu (The year which is passing). (T. A. S. i. 14.)

It also seems to me that the form *ceykiṟa* was very frequent in colloquial speech of that period. Hence the author of the Vīracōḻiyam says that the present participle is formed by adding *kiṟa*, *āniṉṟa* or *cu* to the root. The past participle is formed according to him by the addition of *ta*, *ṉa* or *ya* and the future participle by that of *kum* or *um*.[1] In the example *cey cāttaṉ*, he seems to take *cey* and *cāttaṉ* as separate words where *cey* is the present active affirmative relative participle which is formed by adding the participle *cu* (corresponding to *su*, the nominative singular suffix in Sanskrit) which is evidently dropped afterwards. This is done by him only to get the designation *pada* to *cey*, since, according to him, *pada* is *'suptiñantam.'* But *ceycāttaṉ* may be taken as a compound and hence it would have been better if he had omitted it. In *kiṟa* and *āniṉṟa* mentioned by him it seems to me that *'a'* is the sign of the participle and *kiṟu* and *āniṉṟu* are the present tense signs. I do not know why he failed to mention the form *ceykiṉṟa* which was frequently used in the works that were written before his time.

The author of Naṉṉūl follows him, but substitutes the form *ceykiṉṟa* for the form *ceykiṟa*.[2] The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam

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1. *Tātu-v-iṉ-piṉpu* ta-ṉa-ya-v-iṟappi ṉikaṭci-y-iṉ-kaṇ
Otuṇ-kiṟa-cu-v-v-o ṭ-āniṉṟa-v-āṅ-kum-m-um m-ōṭu-maa kāṉ
Pētamali-y-u m-etiriṉ-kaṇ-ākum *piṟavum-vantāl*
Ētam-il catirāṉ-tam-piḻai-y-ā ma l-iyaṟṟi-k-koḷḷē.
(V. Tāt. 7.)

2. *Ceyta* ceykiṉṟa *ceyyum-eṉ-pāṭṭil*
Kālam-uñ ceyal-un ōṉṟi-p-pāl-otu
Ceyva t-āti aṟu-poruṭ peyarum
Eñca niṟpatu peyar-ec cam-m-ē. (Na. 340.)

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follows Naṉṉūlār.[1]

3.22222412. *ACTIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : In the ancient period only the form *ceyyāta* seems to have been in use and it may have been used in all tenses. (e.g.) *payaṉ illāta col* (word which is of no use) (K. 198). Even now the form *ceyyāta* is used in all tenses though more frequently in the past and the future : (e.g.)

itai-c-ceyyāta paiyaṉ aṭikkappaṭṭāṉ (the boy who did not do this was beaten). (*Colloq.*)

itai-c-ceyyāta paiyaṉ aṭikkappaṭukiṟāṉ (the boy who does not do this is beaten). (*Colloq.*)

itai-c-ceyyāta paiyaṉ aṭikkappaṭuvāṉ (the boy who will not do this will be beaten). (*Colloq.*)

Besides the form *ceyyāta*, the periphrastic forms *ceyyāmal irunta, ceyyāmal irukkiṉṟa* and *ceyyāmal irukkum* are respectively used in the past, present and future tenses.

3.22222413. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE.* In the works of the ancient period perhaps except in Kuṟaḷ it seems that there was no form belonging to this class. In the later periods the forms *ceyyappaṭṭa, ceyyappaṭukiṉṟa* and *ceyyappaṭum* are used in the past, present and future tense respectively. (e.g.)

kuyavaṉāṟ ceyyappaṭṭa kuṭam (pot which was made by the potter). (*Colloq.*)

taccaṉāṟ ceyyappaṭukiṉṟa nārkāli (chair which is made by the carpenter). (*Colloq.*)

aracaṉāṟ kaṭṭappaṭum māḷikai (palace built by the king). (*Colloq.*)

3.22222414. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : As in the case of forms of passive affirmative relative participle, it seems to me that there were no forms for this in the ancient period except in Kuṟaḷ. In the later periods, the form *ceyyappaṭāta* was used in all tenses. In modern times the periphrastic forms *ceyyappaṭāmal-irunta, ceyyppaṭāmal irukkiṉṟa* and

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1. *Avaṟṟuḷ*
Ceyta ceykiṉṟa *ceyyum-eṉ pāṭṭil*
Ceyva t-āti aṟu-poruṭ peyar-oṭu
Muṭiyu muṟaiyatu peyar-ec cam-m-ē. (I. V. 243.)

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ceyyappaṭāmal-irukkum are also found used in the past, present and future tenses respectively. (e.g.) *kēṭkappaṭāta cevi* (K. 418).

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that the suffix denoting the active participles corresponds to *śatṛpratyaya* and *kānac pratyaya* in Sanskrit and the passive participles like *ceyyappaṭṭa* end in *kānacpratyaya*. It must be noted here that *śatṛ* and *kānac* in *gaccan* and *gamyamāna* are two entirely different *pratyayas*, while '*a*' in *ceyta* and *ceyyappaṭṭa* is one and the same.

3.22222415. *WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'A', THE ENDING OF THE PRESENT AND PAST PARTICIPLES CEYKIṈṚA, IṚAVĀNIṈṚA, CEYTA, ETC.?* From the use of the words *ceykiṉṟa* and *iṟavāniṉṟa* in the Paripāṭal and the Kuṟaḷ[1] respectively qualifying plural nouns *kaṇ* and *vaḷai*, it seems to me that *ceykiṉṟa*, *iṟavāniṉṟa* and *ceyta* may have been the nominative neuter plurals of the neuter singular forms *ceykiṉṟu*, *iṟavāniṉṟu*,[2] *ceytu*, when they were used as participial nouns. I have already shown at some length how the finite verbal forms could be used as participial nouns and declined in all cases. Originally they may have been used to qualify neuter plural nouns, but later on, since the neuter plural nouns like *kaṇ*, *tuḷai*, etc. had the same form as the singular as an alternative for *kaṇkaḷ*, *tuḷaikaḷ*, etc. the words like *ceykiṉṟa* may have been used along with singular nouns and later on may have been used to qualify all kinds of nouns. Dr. Caldwell thinks[3] that '*a*' is a possessive case sign; but I have already shown that the possessive case sign '*a*' mentioned by Naṉṉūlār may have evolved from '*a*' the sign of the neuter plural in verbs.

3.2222242. *VIṈAI-Y-ECCAM*: *Viṉai-y-eccam* corresponds to indeclinable past participles like Sanskrit *gatvā* and gerunds like the infinitive of purpose *gantum* in Sanskrit, and infinitive verbal forms denoting condition and cause, which are not found in Sanskrit.

The indeclinable past participles are of two kinds—the affirmative past participle and the negative past participle. The

1. *Ceykiṉṟa kaṇ.* (Pari. 163, 35.)
   Iṟavāniṉṟa vaḷai. (K. 1157.)
2. *Ceykiṉṟu*:—*cey* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṉ* (cāriyai) + *ṟu* (neuter singular termination.)
3. C. D. G. 523.

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affirmative indeclinable past participial forms are according to Tolkāppiyaṉār *ceytu*, *ceyyū* and *ceypu*. He does not mention the negative indeclinable past participial forms; but uses the form *koḷḷātu* in Tol. Col. 198, and this form is frequently used in literature. (*e.g.*) *vāyil viṭātu kōyil pukkēm* (we entered the palace without informing the gate-keeper) (P. N. 67. 10). According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the forms that are gerunds are *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyaṟku*, *ceyteṉa* and *ceya*, and the form that is used as infinitive denoting condition is *ceyiṉ*.[1]

CEYTŪ: This is formed, I think, by adding *tu* to the root *cey*. It denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (*e.g.*) *ceytu vantāṉ*. It may be noted here that this suffix *tu* and the stem *tu* of the suffixes *tum*, *tvā* and *tavē* in *gantum gatvā* and *sartavē* of Vēdic Sanskrit are similar. In addition to the form *ceytu*, the forms *pōy* and *uṟaṅki* are used. Here *tu* is not added to the root, but *y* or *i* is added. If *i* happened to be the earlier suffix, it may be said that it was changed to *y* in the case of certain verbs. These forms *ceytu*, *uṟaṅki* and *pōy* have lived to the present day, unlike the forms *ceyyū* and *ceypu*.

CEYYŪ: Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar mention that this denotes an action done previous to that denoted by the verb finite or infinite which it qualifies.[2] (e.g.) *itai puṭaiyū . . . erṟi* (Pattu. 227. 376). But there are examples where it denotes an action more or less simultaneous with that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. Thus in the sentence '*tōḷ ōcci valaṉ vaḷaiyūu-p-pakal makiḻ tūṅkum*' (Pattu. 136. 145.) which means 'dancing at day time with the left shoulder bent towards the right', the word *vaḷaiyūu* qualifies the present participle *tūṅkum* and the action of bending denoted by it remains so long as the action of dancing denoted by *tūṅkum* remains. Hence it seems that Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned that this form *ceyyū* may

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1. *Ceytu ceyyū-c ceypu* ceyteṉa-c
Ceyyiyar ceyyiya ceyiṉ-ceya-c ceyaṟkeṉa
A-v-vakai y-oṉpatum viṉai-y-eñcu kiḷavi.
(Tol. Col. 228.)

2. *Ukāram uṉṉūvaṉtāṉ, tiṉṉū-vaṉtāṉ eṉap*
Piṉ-varum toḻiṟku iṭai-y-iṉṟi muṉ-varum
Toḻiṉ-mēl iṟaṉta-kālam pōṟṟi varum.
(Tol, Col. 228. Cēṉā.)

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denote an action simultaneous with that of the word which it qualifies.[1] This form *ceyyū* sometimes changes to *ceyyā*.[2]

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that this corresponds to the form *kāram* in Sanskrit where the *ṇamulpratyaya* is added to the root.[3] There is no purpose served by taking it so. This has almost given place to the form *ceyyā* even in the ancient period. (e.g.) *katavu eṟiyā civanturāy* (P. N. 4. 10).

CEYPŪ: Cēṉāvaraiyar thinks that this denotes an action simultaneous with that which is denoted by the word which it qualifies. Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar quote one and the same sentence *'pularā-ṉ-paccilai-y-iṭai-y-uṭupu toṭutta'* where the action denoted by *uṭupū* is previous to that denoted by *toṭutta* and hence think that the form *ceypū* may also denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. This agrees with the use of the word *'teripū'* in *teripū-vēṟu kiḷattal* (Tol. Col. 49) by Tolkāppiyaṉār himself. This like *ceyyū*, is practically extinct.

The form *CEYYĀTŪ* evidently denotes the absence of an action that should have been done before that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *nirayaṅ koḷpavaroṭū oṉṟātū . . . . ōmpu mati* (P. N. 5, 6 & 7). The form *ceyyāmai* is used in the same sense by Tolkāppiyaṉār in the sūtra

Aṭai-ciṉai mutal-eṉa muṟai-mūṉṟu mayaṅkāmai
Naṭai-peṟ ṟiyalum vaṇṇa-c ciṉai-c-col. (Tol. Col. 26.)

In addition to them the form *ceyyāmal* is found in Sangam works. (e.g.) *tīrāmaṟ kāppatōr tiṟaṉuṇṭēl* (Ka. T. Vol. 1, 287. 13.): *ceyyāmaṟ ceyta-v-utavi* (K. 101). The latter form is more frequently used in modern days than the former.

What could have been its origin? I venture to suggest the following explanation.

From the frequent use of compound forms like *celvēm allēm* (P. N. 31. 11.), *toḻutaṉam allamō* (P. N. 60. 6.) in old Tamil literature, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that a compound formation of the type of *kāṇām allām* was also current beside the forms *kāṇēm allēm*, and *kāṇvaṉam allam*. Now it is

1. *Ceyyū-eṉpatū iṟanta-kālamum nikaḻ-kālamum kāṭṭum.* (Tol. Col. 228, Tey.)
2. Ceyyā v-enṉum viṉai-y-eñcu kiḷaviyum. (Tol. E. 223.)
3. *Ceyyā-c* ceyyū-c *ceypu-v-e ṉ-eccaṅ*
Kamuñ-ē ṇamul-ē *yap-p-eṉa lākum.* (P. V. 38, Comm.)

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easy to see how an extended from like *kāṇāmal* representing the negative indeclinable participle may have sprung up, by the line of separation being erroneously drawn between *kāṇāmal* and *ām*. In all probability, the form *kāṇāmal* which arose in this manner may have been used first in association with a verb of the first person plural and subsequently may have acquired an extended use in association with other persons and numbers also. Then the forms like *ceyyāmal* may have sprung up. The form *ceyyāmē*[1] is also found in use.

GERUNDS: CEYYIYAR AND CEYYIYA: These mean exactly 'for the purpose of doing'. Hence they qualify a word which denotes an action previous to that denoted by itself. These two are practically extinct now. It is worth noting that the gerunds *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya* are similar in form to that of the finite verbs in the optative mood. cf. *nī vāḻiyar* (P.N. 137.14); *vāḻiya nī* (Ka. T. Vol. 2.583.21).

CEYAṟKŪ: This conveys the same sense as *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya*. In form it appears to be the fourth case of the verbal noun *ceyal*. It is similar to the form *sartavē* in Vedic Sanskrit since both the forms are dative. Examples like *varaṟkū* (to come) (P. N. 64. 7), *valañceyaṟkū* (to go round in clock-wise directing) (P. N. 6. 18) are very frequent in literary works. But in modern times the form *ceyvataṟkū* is more frequently used than the form *ceyaṟkū*.

CEYA: This conveys the same meaning as *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyaṟkū*, when it qualifies a finite verb, a participle, indeclinable past particiciple or another gerund. This is sometimes used as an absolute. In examples like *maḻai peyya, kuḻam niṟaintatū*, (rain falling, the tank became full) the gerund *peyya* denotes an action previous to that denoted by the verb *niṟaintatū* which follows it; and in examples like *ñāyiṟu paṭa, avaṉ vantāṉ*, (the sun setting, he came) the gerund *paṭa* denotes an action simultaneous with that denoted by the verb *vantāṉ* which follows it: It may also denote an action subsequent to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies (e.g.) *makkaḷ cukamāy irukka tantai paṇañ cērttāṉ*. (The father amassed wealth so that his children may live happily.) This form has lived to the present day. Sometimes, the form *ceyya* takes its place.

1. *Añcaṇa vaṇṇaṉ-eṉ ṉ-ār-uyir nāyaka ṉ-āḻāmē*
(my dear life-giver, blue in colour as collyrium, not ruling.) . . . . . (Kampar. kuka. 14.)

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CEYIṈ: This means 'if you do'. A similar infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. This form *ceyiṉ* is frequently used in the works of the Sangam period. (e.g.) *paricil nalkuvaiyāyiṉ* (if you give presents) (P. N. 116. 5). This may be taken as an ablative infinitive. It is similar in form to the ablative infinitive *gantōḥ* in Vēdic Sanskrit, though they differ in sense. The form is gradually giving place to the form *ceytāl* which is evidently a third case formed from the stem *ceytu*. (e.g.) *eṇṇiyiruntāl* (if you have thought) (Kampar. A. 276. 88.)

In the ancient period the negative form corresponding to *ceyiṉ* is *ceyiṉallāl*. (e.g.) *niṉ kaṇ peṟiṉallāl* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 524. 8). In modern days the forms *ceyyāviṭiṉ* and *ceyyāviṭṭāl* are used instead.

CEYTEṈA: This form is generally used as an absolute, though there are instances like *viḻuttakai perukeṉa vēṇṭutum* (Pari. 93. 117) where it is used like other gerunds. It generally denotes the cause of the action denoted by the verb which follows it. e.g. *puluppeyal poḻinteṉa kōvalar . . . vēṟu pulam parappi* (Since there were new showers, shepherds having gone to new lands (Pattu. 323, 2 to 4) and hence it should invariably denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which follows it. This form has almost died out.

In addition to the above forms, Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned the forms *ceytapiṉ*, *ceytamuṉ*, *ceytakkāl*, *ceyvaḻi*, *ceyyiṭam*, etc., which end in the words *piṉ*, *muṉ*, etc. which denote time.

Besides, the form *ceyiṉum* is used in the literature of the ancient period in the sense 'though one does', (e.g.) *nī vēṇṭiṉum* (though you want) (Ka. T. Vol. 2,576,20). This is evidently formed from *ceyiṉ* by the addition of the particle *um*. This is to a certain extent parallel to the form *kṛtvāpi* (*kṛtvā*+*api*) in Sanskrit.

The author of the Vīracōḻiyam mentions that the particles *poruṭṭu*, *ka*, *pāṉ*, *taṟku*, *vāṉ* and *a* are added after roots to give the sense of *tumanta* (*i.e.*) gerunds.[1] The examples for the

1. *Maṉṉum* tumantam poruṭṭu-k-ka-p-pāṉ-taṟku vāṉ-a-v-eṉṟu
Paṉṉum-eḻiṟ-ṟātu viṉ-piṉpil-ākum pakaril-muṉpu
Tuṉṉiya tātu-t taḻiṟ-poruṭṭāka v-eṉṉun-toṭarcci
Uṉṉiya-pōteṉṟu teyva-p-pulava r-uraittaṉarē.
(V. Tāt. 8.)

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same are found in the commentary under the same stanza:— They are *uṇṇutaṟporuṭṭu vantāṉ* (he came to eat), *kaṟka tārpariyattāṉ* (he intended to read), *paṭippāṉ vantāṉ* (he came to read,) *pōtaṟkū niṉaintāṉ* (he thought to go), *aṟivāṉ karuttuṇṭū* (he desired to know), *uṇṇa vallaṉ* (he is able to eat). Here it is evident that the forms *uṇṇutaṟporuṭṭū* and *pōtaṟkū* are respectively the fourth case of the verbal nouns *uṇṇutal* and *pōtal*. The forms *kaṟka* and *uṇṇa* come under the same category as *ceya* mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār. In the case of *paṭippāṉ* and *aṟivaṉ* in the sentences '*paṭippāṉ vantāṉ*' and '*aṟivāṉ karuttuṇṭū*, they may have been originally finite verbs and were later on taken as gerunds.

How this happened may thus be explained. Tolkāppiyaṉār recognises the use of a number of finite verbs without conjunctive particles, in syntactic agreement with the same subject.[1] It does not require much effort to see that collocations of this kind—*puttiyāṉai vantatu kāṇpāṉ yāṉ taṅkiṉēṉ* (I stayed to see the new elephant) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 592, 7), *colliṉāṉ . . . tēṟṟuvāṉ* (Kampar. A. 213, 16), *paṇam cērppāṉ paṭippāṉ varuvāṉ* (he came to read so that he might earn money) (*Colloq.*)—may have led to forms like *kāṇpāṉ*, *cērppāṉ*, *paṭippāṉ*, being taken as gerunds in the sense of *cērkka* and *paṭikka*.

Similarly he says that the particles *ā*, *ittu*, *tu*, *u* and *i* are added to roots to convey the sense of *tvānta*.[2] The examples for the same are, as given in the commentary, *uṇṇā-p-pōṉāṉ*, *uṇṭiṭṭu-p-pōṉāṉ*, *uṇṭu-pōṉāṉ*, *pukuntu-pōṉāṉ*, *pukku-p-pōṉāṉ*, and *colli-niṟṟāṉ*. Of these *a*, *tu* and *i* have already been mentioned. The particle *iṭṭu* is evidently the indeclinable past participle of the root *iṭu* and it seems to have been used in the colloquial speech at the time of the author of the Vīracōḻiyam as a particle giving the sense of *tvānta*. The form *pukkū* may have originally been *pukkū* and *ū* may have been shortened to *u*.

The author of the Nēmināṭam has omitted the forms *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyū* mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār, since such forms may

1. *Avaitām*
Tattaṅ kiḷavi ṉ-aṭukkuna variṉum
Ettiṟat tāṉum peyar-muṭi piṉavē. (Tol. Col, 429.)

2. *Ā-v-um-iṭṭu-n-tu-v-v-u-m-i-v-v-iṉoṭiyyu m-arum-pulavar*
Ēruṅ-karuttā v-iru-toḻiṟ k-oṉriṭiṉ muṉpu-niṉṟū
Mēvum-poruṭ-ṭātu viṉ-piṉ-varu-mikka taṉ-peyarē
Pāvum-tuvāntam-a tām-eṉṟuraippar paṇi-moḻiyē.
(V. Tāt. 9.)

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have gone out of use in his time, incorporated the forms ending in *ā* and *pāṉ* mentioned by the author of the Vīracōḻiyam and has added another form ending in *pākkŭ*.[1]

The author of Naṉṉūl has mentioned all the forms noted by Tolkāppiyaṉār except *ceyaṟkŭ* and adopted the forms ending in *ā, vāṉ* and *pāṉ* from the author of the Vīracōḻiyam and the forms ending in *pākku* from the author of the Nēmināṭam.[2]

Cēṉāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 229 mentions the form ending in *pākkŭ* and also other forms ending in *āl* as *ceytāl* and *mal* as *ceyyāmal* (negative), etc. (e.g.) *oṉṟu kuṟaipaṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9.)

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar in his commentary under the same sūtra adds a form ending in *vākkŭ*.

The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam repeats what has been said by the author of the Naṉṉūl.[3]

WHAT IS THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE FORMS ENDING IN PĀKKŬ AND VĀKKŪ? There are three instances where the suffix *pākkŭ* is used in the Kuṟaḷ. They are found in the Kuṟaḷ, 136, 164 and 1312. In the first two, the word *paṭupākkŭ* appears and in the last, *eṉpākkŭ*. From the context they mean only *paṭutal* and *eṉṉutal*. *Pākkŭ*, here, may be understood as a suffix added to a root to form a verbal noun denoting the action alone. Thus a form like *paṭupākkŭ* may be analysed into the root *paṭu*, the formative suffix *pu* and *ākkŭ* the noun form of the root *ākŭ*. But the forms ending in *pākkŭ* and *vākkŭ* mentioned by the authors of the Nēmināṭam and the Naṉṉūl and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar are gerunds. Naccinārkkiṉiyar quotes a sentence '*puṇartaru-cevan-taru-pākku-c-ceṉṟāṉ*' as an example of the gerund ending in *pākku* and quotes a colloquial expression '*koḷvākkŭ vantāṉ*' as an example of the gerund ending in *vākkŭ*. They are very rarely used in literature. What could have been their origin?

1. *Ceytŭ ceya-c-c-ceyyā-c ceyyiya ceyteṉa-c*
   Ceypŭ ceyiṉ-ceyar keṉpaṉavum-moy-kuḷalāy
   Piṉ-muṉ-pāṉ pākkum piṟavum viṉai-y-eccâ-c
   Coṉ-muṉ vakuttōr tuṇivu. (N. N. Col. 43.)
2. *Ceytŭ ceypŭ ceyyā-c ceyyū-c*
   Ceyteṉa-c ceya-c ceyiṉ ceyyiya ceyyiyar
   Vāṉ-pāṉ pākkiṉa viṉai-y-eccam piṟa
   Aintoṉ ṟ-āṟum mukkālam-um muṟai-tarum. (Na. 343.)
3. (I. V. 246.) *See* fn. 2 *supra*.

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Uṇpākkiṯ and *koḷvākkiṯ* may have arisen through haplology as crippled forms of *uṇpākkukkiṯ* and *koḷvākkukkiṯ*, the dative singular of *uṇpakkiṯ* and *koḷvakkiṯ*.

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam has mentioned only the forms *ceyya*, *ceyyu*, *ceypu*, *ceyiṉ*, *ceytāl*, *ceytiṯ* and *ceya* and coins the following sūtras to make these forms correspond to those in Sanskrit:—*'ceyyā-c-ceyyū-c-ceypu veṉeccaṅ-kamuññē, ṇamulē yaṗ-peṉal ākum' 'eṉaveṉ eccam itiyeṉal ākum' 'ceyiṉ ceytāleṉa-c-ceppum iraṇṭiṉai iticēṯ teṉpar aṟiṉticiṉōrē'*. These mean that the forms *ceyya*, *ceyyu* and *ceypu* respectively correspond to the forms in Sanskrit ending in *khamuñ* (e.g. *cauraṁ kāram* in *cauraṁkāram ākrōśati*), *ṇamul* (e.g. *smāram smāram*) and *yaṗ* (e.g. *avagamya*); the form *cepteṉa* corresponds to *kṛtvā iti;* the forms *ceyiṉ* and *ceytāl* correspond to *karōti cēt*. He also mentions that the form *ceytiṯ* corresponds to *kṛtvā* and *ceya* to *kartum*. Since no useful purpose is served by these sūtras of correspondence, I think they are unnecessary in a treatise on Tamil grammar.

In colloquial speech only the form *ceytiṯ* remains for the indeclinable past participle, the forms *ceya* and *ceytaṟkiṯ* for the gerund, *ceyiṉ* and *ceytāl* to denote condition and *ceytālum* and *ceyiṉum* to denote contrast in the affirmative; and in the negative voice *ceyyāmal* (e. g. *kuṟaipaṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9) for the indeclinable past participle, *ceyyāmal iruppataṟkiṯ* for the gerund and *ceyyāmal iruntāl* and *ceyyāmal iruntālum* to denote condition and contrast respectively. The presence of many forms for the gerund in the affirmative in the ancient Tamil and only a few in the modern period reminds one of the similar process of change in the history of Sanskrit infinitives.

3.23. *IṬAI-C-COL:* 3.231. *DEFINITION* : Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions in the sūtras

Iṭai-y-eṉa-p paṭuva peyaroṭum viṉai-y-oṭum
Naṭai-peṟ ṟ-iyalum tamakkiyal ṗ-ilavē. (Tol. Col. 249.)
Avaiṯām
Muṉṉum piṉṉu moḻi-y-aṭuttu varutalum
Tam-m-iṟiṯ tiritalum piṟitava ṇilaiyalum
Aṉṉavai y-ellā m-uriya v̂-eṉpa. (ibid. 251.)
Avaiṯām
Puṇariya ṉilai-y-iṭai-p poruṇilai-k-kutanavum
Viṉai-ceyaṉ maruṅkiṟ kālamoṭu varunavum

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Vēṟṟumai-p poruḷ-vayi ṉ-uṟuṯā kunavum
Acai-nilai-k kiḷavi y-āki varunavum
Icai-niṟai-k-kiḷavi y-āki varunavum
Taṯṯaṅ kuṟippiṉ poruḷ-cey kunavum
Oppil vaḻiyāṟ poruḷ-cey kunavum-eṉṟū
A-p-paṇ piṉavē nuvaluṅ kālai. (ibid. 250.)

that *iṭai-c-col* has no separate existence of its own, it is used along with nouns and verbs either as a part of them or before or after them and consists of the flexional increments, personal terminations of verbs, case-suffixes, particles added for the sake of euphony or for making up the quantity of verse, particles of conjunction and interjection, and those denoting comparison, etc. From this it is clear that *iṭai-c-col* in Tamil corresponds to *pratyayas* and *nipātas* in Sanskrit. The author of the Nēmināṭam repeats the idea contained in Tol. Col. 250 only.[1] The author of the Naṉṉūl summarises in one sūtra[2] all that is said by Tolkāppiyaṉār, in the three sūtras mentioned above. The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam[3] and the Tonnūlviḷakkam[4] more or less repeat what is said by Naṉṉūlār. All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam and the later grammarians think that Tol. Col. 249 deals with the definition of *iṭai-c-col.*

But it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṉār did not intend either Tol. Col. 249 or all the three sūtras Tol. Col. 249, 251 and 250 for the purpose of defining *iṭai-c-col;* for, the most important feature of *iṭai-c-col* is that it is a *pratyaya* or formative element or a *nipāta.* This is suggested by the name *iṭai-c-col* which

1. *Cāriyai-y-ā y-oṉṟa l-urupāta ṟaṅ-kuṟippiṉ*
Erum poruḷ-āta ṉiṉṟicai-y-āy-p-pērtal
Viṉai-c-corkīr ṟāta l-icai-niṟaittu mēval
Aṉaittē y-iṭaī-c-co l-aḷavu. (N. N. Col. 50.)
2. *Vēṟṟumāi viṉai cāriyai oppu urupukaḷ*
Taṯṯam poruḷa icai-niṟai acai-nilai
Kuṟippe ṉ-eṉ-pakutiyiṉ taṉittiya l-iṉṟi-p
Peyariṉum viṉaiyiṉum piṉ-muṉ ōriṭattū
Oṉṟum palavum van toṉṟuva t-iṭai-c-col. (Na. 420.)
3. *Vēṟṟumai viṉai-cā riyai-y-op purupukaḷ*
Taṯṯam poruḷa v-icāi-niṟai y-acai-nilai
I-t-tiṟa m-ēliṟ ṟaniṯṯiya l-iṉṟi-p
Peyariṉum viṉaiyiṉum piṉ-muṉ n-ōr-iṭattū
Oṉṟum palavūm-vaṉ toṉṟuva t-iṭaiccol. (I. V. 251.)
4. T. V. 130.

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means 'the side word'. That this is his idea is well seen from the sūtra

Iṭai-c-col l-ellām vēṟṟumai-c collē. (Tol. Col. 455.)

where he says that every *iṭai-c-col* is *vēṟṟumai-c-col.* Here *vēṟṟumai-c-col* evidently means differentiating element, *i. e.* an element which differentiates the relation between the governing base or word to which it is appended and the following verb. For instance the case-suffix *ai* in '*irāmaṉai*' specifically defines the character of *raman's* relation to the following verb as its object, since the stem *irāmaṉ*, by itself, admits of several kinds of relation such as the subject, instrument, recipient, etc. Similarly *ā* in *vantāṉā* makes the assertive verb *vantāṉ* an interrogative verb and so on.

Having suggested that *iṭai-c-col* is a formative element or a *nipāta*, Tolkāppiyaṉār says in Tol. Col. 249 and 251 that it does not possess a separate existence, but is used as a part of nouns or verbs or before or after either of them. He then enumerates them in detail in Tol. Col. 250.

3·232. IS *IṬAI-C-COL VĀCAKA* OR *DYŌTAKA?* Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār mention in their commentary on Tol. Col. 249 that the word '*tamakkiyalpila*' suggests that *iṭai-c-col* is not a *vācaka* but only *dyōtaka*, i.e. it does not have a meaning of its own, but only suggests that the noun or verb which it accompanies has a particular meaning. They have said so, I think, in imitation of a class of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that *upasargas* or prepositions and the case suffixes in Sanskrit are *dyōtaka* and not *vācaka*. For instance in *upakarōti* the element *upa* does not have any meaning of its own, but suggests that the root *kṛ* in *upakarōti* means to help, though it can have other meanings elsewhere. Similarly, the case suffixes suggest that the base is an object to a verb, recipient, etc.

But I think that this is not quite consistent with the definition given by Tolkāppiyaṉār that *col* is that which has a meaning.[1] I have already said in 3.1 supra that Tolkāppiyaṉār seems to follow the opinion of the Sanskrit logicians. According to the latter even the *pratyayas* are *vācaka*. Besides, even those Sanskrit grammarians who think that *upasargas* and case suffixes are

1. *Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuṟiṭ taṉa-v-ē.* (Tol. Col. 155).

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dyōtaka take the verbal terminations to be *vācaka* and not *dyōtaka*.

If that be so, one may ask what the importance of the word '*tamakkiyalpila*' in the sūtra Tol. Col. 249 is. It evidently suggests that *iṭai-c-col* does not have a separate existence of its own outside nouns or verbs or the sentence made up of nouns or verbs.

3.233. *PARALLELS*: The sentence '*iṭai-y-eṉappaṭuva peyaroṭum viṉaiyoṭum naṭaiperṟiyalum*' in Tol. Col. 249 seems to find a parallel in '*upasargā viṃśatirarthavācakāḥ sahētarābhyām* (R. V. P. 12.6). Here one may point out that the latter deals only with *upasarga*, while the former deals with *pratyayas* and all *nipātas*. But the expression '*sahētarābhyām*' is so beautifully translated by Tolkāppiyaṉār into '*peyaroṭum viṉaiyoṭum*' that it may apply to all *pratyayas* and *nipātas*.

Besides it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṉār in giving a list of *iṭai-c-col* with their meanings in *iṭai-y-iyal* may have had for his model the first chapter of Yāska's Nirukta where Yāska deals with *nipātas*. The following parallels may be noted:—

1. *ciṟappoṭu . . . ōkārammē* (which means the particle *ō* is used to denote superiority.) Tol. Col. 256:
   cit . . . pūjāyām (Y. N. 33.12.) (*pūjā=ciṟappu*.)
2. *pirinilai . . . ōkārammē* (which means the particle *ō* is used in *pirinilai*.) Tol. Col. 256:
   aha iti ca ha iti ca vinigrahārthīyāu (Y. N. 37.2.) (*vinigraha=pirinilai*.)
3. *antil āṅka-v-acainilai-k-kiḷavi* (which means that the the words *antil, āṅka* are used simply to make up the quantity of the verse.) Tol. Col. 267:
   athāpi padapūraṇā idamu tadu (Y. N. 37.4) (*padapūraṇa=acainilai-k-kiḷavi*.)

3.234. Prepositions in Tamil are very rare. That which approximates to it in early literature is *koṉ* in *koṉṉūr*, *Koṉṉūr* is mentioned by the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam as a compound having the *nipāta koṉ* as the first member.[1] It may be said to be similar in form to *upagrāmam* in Sanskrit. In the later periods the nouns like *kai* in *iṟaiyiliyāka-k-kai-k-koṇṭu* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44.6), *puṟam* in *puṟaṅ-koṭuttāṉ* are considered as prepositions. (c. f. P. V. 45, comm.)

1. '*Koṉṉūr*' *eṉa avviyaya-pūrva-patam-āy vanta avviyayīpāvam-ākiya muṉ-moḻi-y-iṭai-c-coḻ varum.* (P.V. 23 comm.)

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3.24. *URI-C-COL*: 3.241. *DEFINITION*: Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions in the sūtra

Uri-c-coṟ kiḷavi virikkuṅ kālai
Icai-y-iṉuṅ kuṟippiṉum paṇpiṉum tōṉṟi-p
Peyariṉum viṉaiyiṉu mey-taṭu māṟi
Oru-coṟ pala-poruṭ k-urimai tōṉṟiṉum
Pala-col l-oruporuṭ k-urimai tōṉṟiṉum
Payilāṭa varṟai-p payiṉṟavai cārtti-t
Tatta marapiṟ ceṉṟu-nilai maruṅkiṉ
E-c-col l-āyiṉum poruḷ vēṟu-kiḷattal. (Tol. Col. 297.)

that *uri-c-col* in its detailed significance denotes *icai*, *kuṟippu* and *paṇpu*. Its form undergoes modification in nouns and verbs. It may have many meanings or it may have the same meaning as others of its kind and it is to be explained in literature by means of words ordinarily current in the world.

All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam mistake that this sūtra defines *uri-c-col*. Cēṉāvaraiyar feeling that the statement 'that it has many meanings, etc.' is out of place in the sūtra dealing with definition, says that though the author states that it is used in nouns and verbs with its form modified, etc., it should be defined as that which denotes *icai*, *kuṟippu* and *paṇpu*.[1] Teyva-ccilaiyār says that, since Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned *uri-c-col* as *kuṟaiccoṟkiḷavi* in *Eḻuttatikāram*, it is identical with *dhātu* in Sanskrit.[2]

The author of the Nēmināṭam summarises Tol. Col. 297 in N. N. Col. 56. The author of the Naṉṉūl defines that *uri-c-col* is that which is exclusively used in poetry, which cannot be separated from nouns and verbs and which denotes one *kuṇam* or quality or many qualities.[3] The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam reproduces the idea contained in Tol. Col. 297 with the modification that it

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1. *Mey-taṭu-māṟalum oru-coṟ pala-poruṭ-kuṟi-mai-y-um, pala-col oru-porūṭ-kurimaiyum uri-c-coṟkū uṇmaiyāṉ ōtiṉārēṉum, uri-c-corkū ilakkaṇam-āvatu* icāi kurippu-p paṇpeṉṉum poruṭ-kuriyavāy varuṭalēyām. (Tol. Col. 297, cena.)

2. *Eḻuttatikārattul ītaṉai kuṟai-c-coṟ-kiḷavi eṉṟū ōtiṉamai-yāl, vaṭanūl-āciriyar* tātū *eṉṟū kuṟi-y-iṭṭa coṟkaḷē ivai-y-eṉṟū koḷḷappaṭum.* (Tol. col. 292, Teyva.)

3. *Pāl-vakai-p paṇpum pakar-peya r-āki*
Oru-kuṇam pala-kuṇan taḻuvi-p peyar-viṉai
Oruvā ceyyuṭkū uriyaṉa uri-c-col. (Na. 442).

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is used either as *viṉai-p-pōli* (verb in imitation) and *peyar-p-pōli* (noun in imitation) or as the base of nouns or verbs and mentions in his commentary on the same that *karuppu*, *civappu* are *peyar-p-pōli* and *uṟu*, *tava* are *viṉai-p-pōli* in the same way as Cēṉāvaraiyar has done under Tol. Col. 297. Besides, he states that there are some Tamil grammarians who hold that *uri-c-col* is mostly found in poetry.

It seems to me that Tol. Col. 297 does not deal with the definition of *uri-c-col*. If it deals with it, all the lines except the first two are out of place, as is suggested by Cēṉāvaraiyar. Its definition is suggested by the name *uri-c-col*. *Uri-c-col* does not mean the word belonging to only poetry as Naṉṉūlār thinks, nor the word denoting quality belonging to objects as Cēṉāvaraiyar and others think. It means the word denoting the independent part of a noun or verb; for the word *urimai* means 'right' and hence independence. Its nature in form is clearly expressed in the sūtra—

Eḻuttu-p-piriu ticaitta l-ivaṇiyal p-iṉṟē. (Tol. Col. 395.) which may be translated thus:—' It is not in its nature capable of being further analysed'. This and the word *kūṟai-c-coṟkiḻavi* mentioned in the last but one sūtra of *Eḻuttatikāram* clearly suggest that *uri-c-col* is the root of nouns or verbs. It cannot be taken to be identical with Sanskrit *dhātu* as mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār since *dhātu* is, according to the Sanskrit Grammarians, a verbal root and since Tolkāppiyaṉār has not suggested anywhere in his work that all nouns are derived from verbal roots. Teyvaccilaiyār seems to have said so thinking that Tolkāppiyaṉār follows the theory of Śākaṭāyana and Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.[1] But it seems to me that he follows the theory of Gārgya and another section of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that it is not necessary that all nouns should have been derived from verbal roots.[2] The chief reason for the latter view is that neither Tolkāppiyaṉār nor the later grammarians have attempted to derive all nouns from verbal roots. Hence *uri-c-col* may be taken as the nominal or verbal root.

1. *Tatra nāmāni ākhyātajānīti Śākaṭāyanō nairukta-samayaś ca.* (Y.N. 56, 2.)

2. *Na sarvāṇī ity eva gārgyo vaiyākaraṇānāñ caike.* (Y. N. 56, 3.)

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3.242. *NATURE OF URI-C-COL*: If so, what is the purpose served by Tol. Col. 297? I may say that it explains it. The part '*icaiyiṉum kuṟippiṉum paṇpiṉum tōṉṟi*' means 'used to denote *icai* (sound) *kuṟippu* (feeling) and *paṇpu* (*jāti*=genus *guṇa*=quality or *kriyā*'=action'). The part '*orucol palaporuṭ kurimai tōṉṟiṉum*' means 'though the same root can have different meanings'. The part '*palacol oruporuṭ kurimai tōṉṟiṉum*' means 'though different roots are used in same sense'. The part '*payilātavaṟṟai payiṉṟavai cārtti . . . kiḷattal*' means 'one should explain the meaning of the root which is not current by one which is current'.

3.243. *URI-Y-ÍYAL* IN *TOLKĀPPIYAM* AND *YĀSKA'S NIRUKTA*: A close examination of the first sūtra in this section (*uri-y-iyal*) and those that follow, and the second, third and fourth chapters of Yāska's Nirukta shows that Tolkāppiyaṉār may have had Nirukta for his model. The portion '*oruṉcol palaporuṭ kurimai tōṉṟiṉum*' has a parallel in '*ēkārtham anēkaśabdam ityētaduktam* (Y. N. 265.1).' The portion '*palacol oruporuṭ kurimai tōṉṟiṉum*' has a parallel in '*atha yānyanēkārthāni ēkaśabdāni tānyatō anukramiṣyāmaḥ* (Y. N. 266.2)'. The expression '*payilātavaṟṟai*' has a parallel in '*anavagatasaṃskārāṉ ca nigamān* (Y. N. 266.3). The expression '*veḷippaṭu collē*' has a parallel in '*saṁvijñātāni tāni*' in the sentence '*tadyatra svara saṁskārau samarthau prādeśikena guṇena anvitāu syātāṁ saṁvijñātāni tāni*' (Y. N. 56.4).

The list of *uri-c-col* given by Tolkāppiyaṉār may be divided into that which deals with verbal roots and that which deals with nominal roots. For instance, the words *vārtal, pōkal, tīrttal* etc., in Tol. Col. 317 & 318 denotes only the verbal roots *vār, pō, tīr* exactly in the same way as *āvayati, bhavati, vēti*, etc. given in Y.N. page 195, *rēḷatē, hēḷatē*, etc., in page 197 of the same, etc. The words *viḷumam, cīrmai, karuvi* mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 and 354 are similar to *mahat, budhnaḥ*, etc. given in Y. N. page 213. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not seem to have incorporated in Tamil grammar the theory of the Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.

It may be interesting to note that the Tamil word *uṟu* found in the sūtra '*uru tava naṉi . . mikuti ceyyum poṟuḷa*' (Tol. Col.

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299) and the Sanskrit word *uru* in *'uru tuvi puru . . . iti dvādaśa bahunāmāni* (Y.N. 212.1) both head the list of words having the sense 'much'. The Tamil grammarians have not been able to satisfactorily explain the derivation of the Tamil *'uru'* and the Tamil *'tava'* in the sense of 'much'. But a consideration of the Nirukta parallel indicated above (*uru tuvi . .*) might help any one in equating the Tamil *uru* and *tava* in the sense of 'much' with Sanskrit *uru* and *tuvi* in the same sense, and in appreciating the correspondence between the two sets of words both on the phonological and semantic sides. The way in which Tolkāppiyaṉār frames a list of words whose derivation cannot be ascertained—such as *naṉi, kaṭi*—is very similar to the manner in which Yāska frames a list of *asaṁvijñāta* words like *jahā, nidhā*, etc. in pp. 267 and 269 of the Nirukta.

Besides, Tolkāppiyaṉār first gives the list of roots which have the same meaning and then only roots which have different meanings. In Nirukta too, list of words having the same meaning is given in the second and third chapters and the list of those having different meanings is given in the fourth and fifth chapters.

On considering the above points, it may be clear that Tol. Col. 294 does not deal with the definition of *Uri-c-col*. The statement of Naṉṉūlār that it is used only in poetry was made on account of the mistaken notion that only the words like *uṟu, tava, naṉi*, etc. whose derivation is believed to be obscure are *uri-c-col*. He seems to have failed to note the sūtra *'veḷippaṭu collē kiḷattal vēṇṭā, veḷippaṭa vārā uricconmēṉa'* (Tol. Col. 298) which means that the *uri-c-col* which are in use are not mentioned here and only those which are not in use, are mentioned.

I really wonder how Cēṉāvaraiyar and the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam countenance the opinion of Naṉṉūlār that *uri-c-col* is found only in poetry as an alternative theory. The reason for this, it seems to me, is that they may have mistaken *viḷumam, cīrmai*, etc. mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 for noun forms, since they say that *karuppū, civappū*, etc. are *peyar-p-pōli* while such forms evidently represent nominal roots as explained above.

From the above arguments one can very well see that it would not be correct to say that all words are *uri-c-col*, as the

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author of the Pirayōkavivēkam has said in one place (P. V, 18, comm. p. 31.) or to include it in *iṭai-c-col* as the same grammarian has done in another place (P. V. 42, comm.); nor would it be correct to define *uri-c-col* as 'one of a few indeclinables which always have the force of adjective or adverb[1].

4. Word-formation and Compounds.

4·1. *WORD-FORMATION*: It seems to me that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār that words, generally nouns and verbs, are formed by suffixing one or more *iṭai-c-col* to *uri-c-col*, as *kariyaṉ*, *kariyaḷ*, etc. or by suffixing *iṭai-c-col* to nouns or verbs as *valaiyaṉ*, *uṇṇēṉai*, etc.

The author of the Vīracōḻiyam, in imitation of Pāṇini's grammar, names the suffixes that are added to words as *taddhita* and gives their list in V. Tat. 1, 4 and 5. They are *aṉ*, *iyaṉ*, *īṉaṉ*, *ēyaṉ*, etc.; *mai*, *am*, *pu*, *tu*, *vu*, *kām*, etc.; and *acci*, *āṭṭi*, *aṉi*, *ātti*, *āḷ*, *aḷ*, *i*, etc. The examples given by the commentator for the same are *valaiyaṉ*, *vētiyaṉ*, *kulīṉaṉ*, *vaiṉatēyaṉ*, etc.; *valimai*, *nilam*, *melippu*, *valitu*, *melivu*, *kuṟukkam*, etc.; *paṟaicci*, *veḷḷāṭṭi*, *pārppaṉi*, *vaṇṇāṭṭi*, etc. Here an unnecessary mixing-up of Sanskrit *taddhita pratyayas* and Tamil *pratyayas* has been done; for instance, *īṉa* in *kuḷīṉa* and *ēya* in *vaiṉatēya* are Sanskrit *pratyayas;* the *pratyayas* given in V. Tat. 4 are strictly speaking *kṛt pratyayas;* but the author of the Vīracōḻiyam seems to take it that *valimai*, *kuṟukkam*, etc. are formed from the nouns *vali*, *kuṟu*, etc., which, in his opinion, are formed from the roots *val*, *kuṟ*, etc. But we do not find such verbal forms as *val* and *kuṟ*. As regards the third list the same confusion made. The Sanskrit word *brāhmaṇastrī*, if Tamilised, becomes *pārppaṉatti* and *pārppaṉacci*. Hence *acci* and *atti* are not, strictly speaking, suffixes. The word *vaṇṇāṭṭi* is evidently formed from *vaṇṇāṉ* + *attu* (cāriyai) + *i*, where the *ṉ* of *vaṇṇāṉ* is dropped. Hence all the suffixes noted in V. Tat. 5 could be brought under *i*, *aḷ* and *āḷ*. Similarly he makes mention of *kṛt pratyayas* in V. Tat. 3 and 4.

He forms the nominative case of nouns by adding *cu* and then dropping it, in direct imitation of Pāṇini's grammar.

1. T. L. p.

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Naṉṉūlār takes the forms *naṭa*, *vā*, etc. as the roots like the author of the Vīracōḻiyam;[1] but does not agree that *cemmai*, *ciṟumai*, etc. are derived from verbs, but says that they are *pakāppatam* or indivisible words.

According to him, the case forms of nouns are framed by adding case-suffixes to nouns are participial nouns, e.g. *kaṇṇaṉai*, *pōṉēṉai*; *cāriyai* may be inserted before the case-suffix; the verbal forms are formed by adding the tense sign followed by the personal terminations to the roots in general.

All the later grammarians follow Naṉṉūlār[2] except the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam, who follows the author of the Vīracōḻiyam. The parallelism between V. Tat. 2 and 3 and P. V. 31 and 32 is striking. He devides *tattitaṉ* into three as *cāmāṉiya-tattitaṉ*, *avviyatattitaṉ*, and *pāvatattitaṉ*[3], and enumerates them in P. V. 30 to 34. The difference between the author of the Vīracōḻiyam and that of the Pirayōkavivēkam is that the latter does not mix the Tamil suffixes with Sanskrit suffixes though he imports the Sanskritic technical terms.

4.2. *COMPOUNDS*: 4.21. *MEANING OF THE WORD 'TOKAI'*: The word that is chosen by Tolkāppiyaṉār to denote compounds is *tokai*. The word *tokai* is derived from the root *'tokii'* which means to elide and also to join together. Cēṉāvaraiyar[4] mentions that there are two schools of interpretation of

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1. *Maṉṉiyā-cīr-vaṭa nūliṟ-cara-paca v-eṉṟu-vantu*
Tuṉṉiya-tātu-k kaḷin-pōli-pōla-t tokū-tamiḻkkum
Paṉṉiya-tātu-k kaḷai-p-paṭaittu-k-koḷka muṉṉilaiyiṉ
Uṉṉiya-v-ēva l-orumai-c-coṟ-pōṉṟula kiṟkokkavē.
(V. Tāt. 1.)

2. *Naṭa-vā maṭi-cī viṭu-ku vē-vai*
Nō-p-pō vau-v-uri ñuṇ-porun tirun-tiṉ
Tēy-pār celvav vāḻ-kē ḷ-a:.keṉṟu
Iṉṉavai mutala v-ellā viṉaiyun
Terinilai viṉaiyiṉ mutaṉilai y-ākum. (I. V. 43)
Naṭa, vā, uṇ, tiṉ *ittoṭakkattaṉa viṉai-p-pakā-p-paṭam.*
(Ibid. 40, comm.)

3. *Cāmā ṉiyam-av viyam-pāva mūṉṟeṉa-t tattītaṉ-vēṟu*
.....
(P. V. 30.)

4. *Vēṟṟumai-y-urupum avama-v-urupum um-m-aiyum viṉai-c-col-l-iṟum paṉpu-c-col-l-irun tokutaliṟ ṟokai-y-āyiṉa-v-eṉpārum, a-v-v-a-p-poraṉmēl iraṇṭum palarum-ākiya coṟkaḷ piḻavu-paṭātū orṟumai-p-paṭa-t tam-m-uḷ-iyaitaliṟ ṟokai-y-āyiṉa v-eṉpārum-eṉa irūṉṟattār āciriyar.* (Tol. Col. 412, Cēṉā.)

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the word *tokai;* one adopts the first meaning of the root *tokṟu* and thinks that *tokai* is that where the case-suffixes, the particle *um*, the particles of comparison, the ending of *paṇpu-p-peyar* and the ending of verbs are dropped and the other adopts the second meaning and thinks that *tokai* is that in which two or more words are joined together. He belongs to the latter school and condemns the former school for the following two reasons:— (1) According to their interpretation even the expressions *ceytāṉ poruḷ* and *iruntāṉ māṭattu* would become *tokai* since the case-suffixes *ai* and *kaṇ* have been respectively dropped after the words *poruḷ* and *māṭattu*. (2) Even those who hold the former theory cannot but accept the unitary nature of a compound. These two reasons cannot stand if *tokai* is taken to be that in which two are more words or joined together by dropping case-suffixes, etc. Besides, Tolkāppiyaṉār himself describes the unitary nature of compounds in the sūtra

Ellā-t tokai-y-u m-oru-coṉ ṉaṭaiya. (Tol. Col. 420.)

and dropping of case-suffixes, etc., in the sūtra

Paṇpu-toka varūuṅ kiḷavi y-āṉum
Ummai tokka peyar-vayi ṉ-āṉum
Vēṟṟumai tokka peyar-vayi ṉ-āṉum
Īṟṟu-niṉ ṟiyalu m-aṉmoḻi-t tokai-y-ē. (Tol. Col. 418.)

where he deals with *aṉmoḻittokai* or *bahuvrīhi* compound. Hence the choice of the word '*tokai*' shows the genius of Tolkāppiyaṉār. It may be very interesting to note here that the Sanskrit name '*samāsa*' also, while it explicitly refers to composition, also implicitly conveys the idea of curtailment as may be seen from the contrast between the Sanskrit words *vyāsa* and *samāsa*. The interpretation of the word *tokai* by Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār is possibly based upon the obvious meaning of the word *samāsa* (composition). Though Teyvaccilaiyār gives this interpretation of *tokai* under Tol. Col. 412, he takes into consideration the other meaning also in the word *tokku* in *paṇpu toka* . . . (Tol. Col. 418).

The author of the Vīracōḻiyam, though he takes *tokai* to correspond to the term *samāsa*, (composition) clearly mentions the elision of case-suffixes, etc. in the former member of the compound (V. T. 1). The author of the Piṟayōkavivēkam, on the other hand, says that he agrees with Cēṉāvaraiyar and repeats the reasons assigned by him (P. V. 19, comm. p. 34).

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A NOTE ON THE NAME DAŚARŪPAKA.

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We ordinarily understand by the word Daśarūpaka the ten main varieties of drama, contrasting that word with Uparūpaka, about twenty subsidiary varieties of dramatic performances. It is said that the former are the major types of drama and the latter minor. Sanskrit writers on Dramaturgy also have made such a distinction between the two, *viz.*, that the Daśarūpa is Nāṭya (*i. e.*) Rūpaka or perfect drama with all the four Abhinayas and other Aṅgas, such as music and that it is the presentation of Rasa, which means that the Daśarūpaka denotes a class of major dramas, big in theme, having the development of one emotion and that consequently the Daśarūpaka is called Rasābhinaya or Vākyārthābhinaya; but that Uparūpaka makes music sometimes predominant and generally subordinates or totally omits Vācikābhinaya or speech, as a result of which there is full scope for action or Abhinaya, Sāttvika and Āṅgika, that they are therefore not called drama, Rūpaka, strictly, but only Nṛtya depicting only Bhāva and not Rasa, and that they are therefore Bhāvābhinaya or Padārthābhinaya. This distinction is similar to that between the Mahākāvya and Muktakas.

रसाश्रयत्वमप्युक्तं रसादेराश्रयत्वतः ।
तदेवं दशधा भिन्नं वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ॥

Śāradātanaya, Bhā. Pra, VII, p. 180.

यद्यत् रसात्मकं तत्तत् वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ।
यद्यत् भावाश्रयं तत्तत् पदार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 181.

दशरूपेण भिन्नानां रूपकाणामतिक्रमात् ।
अवान्तरभिदाः काश्चित् पदार्थाभिनयत्मिकाः ॥
ते नृत्यभेदाः प्रायेण संख्यया विंशतिर्मताः । *Ibid.* IV, p. 254.

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Pure Abhinaya, or rendering of a small connected theme or a number of isolated Muktaka-themes through the art of gesture, aided by music, is the chief characteristic which distinguishes the latter class. If it is pure dance done by one, there is the absence of Āhārya and Sāttvika Abhinayas and preponderance of Āṅgika. The Vācika becomes a musical theme. Therefore inadequate Vācika, Āhāryā and Sāttvika produce Nṛtya varieties. Nāṭya or drama emphasises all and especially Sāttvika Abhinaya. It tries to have as much Lokadharmī, Realism or Natural conditions, as possible, whereas in Nṛitya there is a maximum amount of idealism, Nāṭyadharmi.

* * *नाट्यमिति व्युत्पत्त्या सात्त्विकाभिनयबाहुल्यं सूच्यते। * * * *नृत्यमिति व्युत्पत्त्या आङ्गिकाभिनयबाहुल्यं सूच्यते।"

Kumārasvāmin on Pratāparudrīya, p. 72, Bāla. M. edn.

The former class comprises perfect dramas dominated by Vācikābhinaya or speech. The latter therefore can only be called varieties of dance, Nṛtya. The Daśarūpaka is considered Vācika-pradhāna. A certain formula of gesture, as given by Bharata, Nandikeśvara and others, denotes many an object. When this gesture is not followed by speech also, its meaning will not be sufficiently clear. Similarly when the Vyabhicārins are acted, one is not sure what Rasa is being depicted, because a number of Vyabhicārins are common to two or more Rasas. So a drama, dealing with a big story with a unity of idea and Rasa, has necessarily to emphasise Vācika as the final and conclusive तात्पर्यनिर्णायक, factor deciding the import. So it is perhaps that Bharata says of a drama—

क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं च यद्भवेत्। I.—II.

But such a theoretical distinction and classification of drama and dramatic performances do not answer to the real facts of historical development.

When the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra codified the art of drama of its time and before its time, there were available ten kinds of drama or dramatic performances. Not all of them were or could be called major varieties or perfect types of drama. The only perfect drama-types in the scheme of Daśarūpaka are two and they are the first two, Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. Bharata himself has recognised this by mentioning them at the head of the ten and by calling them पूर्ववृत्तिरूपक. (N. S. XX. 6-7). Śāradātanaya

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says more clearly that the first type called Nāṭaka is the Prakṛti, which does not mean that it is the source of other types historically but means that it is the latest, the perfection of drama, historically speaking, in which can be found aspects of all the earlier and imperfect varieties.

त्रिंशद्रूपकभेदाश्च प्रकाश्यन्तेऽत्र लक्षणैः ।
प्रकृतित्वादथान्येषां भूयोरसपरिग्रहात् ।
संपूर्णलक्षणत्वाच्च पूर्वं नाटकमुच्यते ॥ Bhā. Pra. VIII, p. 221.

The Vīthī and the Aṅka certainly do not represent major varieties. The Vīthī is the predecessor of the Prahasana. The Prahasana can live by itself as a separate type of perfect drama even though its character and features are available to an extent in the Nāṭaka and amply in the Prakaraṇa. The Vīthī of course died early and we have no old specimens of the Vīthī now preserved. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra actually gives in many places evidences for the disappearance of the Vīthī into the body of the Prahasana, the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka, both as part of the Prastāvanā and of the drama itself. The Samavakāra, the Īhāmṛga, the Ḍima and the Vyāyoga represent the Uddhata[1] or Āviddha types of drama, being heroic in theme. They are the early specimens of dramatic performances depicting fights amongs Devas and Asuras. The Asura Vijaya (N.S. I, 59) and the Amṛta Mathana (N.S. IV. 2—4), described as a Samavakāra were the first dramatic performances. Then when Brahman took Bharata's troupe to Śiva's abode, the theme of Tripura-dāha described as a Ḍima was enacted. (N.S. IV, 10.) The Samavakāra, the Ḍima, the Īhāmṛga and the Vyāyoga are very similar to each other. Bharata refers us to the other while describing each of these. He gives the Īhāmṛga as similar to the Vyāyoga and the Vyāyoga as similar to the Samavakāra. (*Vide* N. S. XX, Śls. 82-85 and 95-99.)

यद्वा (द्वया) योगे कार्यं ये पुरुषा ये रसाश्च निर्दिष्टाः ।
ईहामृगेऽपि ते स्युः केवलममरस्त्रियो ह्यस्मिन् ॥ N. S. XX. 85-86.

The Vyāyoga is also described as an one-act Samavakāra, with the hero as an epic king and not as a god. (N.S. XX. 95—96.) These, by the influeuce of the Mahākāvyas and the growing mythological legends, gradually perfected themselves into the heroic type

1. *Vide* my paper on The Vṛttis, J. O. R. Madras; Vol. VI, No. 4.

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Nāṭaka. The tendency to depict men of soceity, their habits and ridiculousness, this old, natural and native tendency of man began with small imperfect types like Vīthī, grew into Prahasana and perfected itself into Prakaraṇa. That the farcical and satirical type, the Prahasana, was of very early origin is proved by N.S. XXXVI, 29—37.

सर्वलोकप्रहसनैः बाध्य(ध)न्ते हास्यसंश्रयैः । Śl. 29.

When the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka were being reached, there was however a need for variety of interest which resulted in a mutual exchange of features. Thus Śuddha varieties of Prakaraṇa rose which were not in any way different from Nāṭaka, except in the fact of the hero not being a king of purāṇic glory, Prakhyāta. Similarly the Nāṭaka got such features as the Vidūṣaka for comic relief. Among the Nāṭakas themselves the more serious among them, those dealing with gods or their incarnations must be earlier to those that deal with purāṇic kings.

The Vīthī was first done by one actor and then by two[1]. From the latter, the Prahasana rose. From the former, a new type with erotic and comic theme called the Bhāṇa grew as a Monologue. Though the main feature of this also merged into the build of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, it could live separately like the Prahasana. The Bhāṇa especially gained a new lease of life, late in the history of Sanskrit literature, when, in South India especially, many specimens of it sprang up, the reason being the paucity of old specimens of this type and the ample opportunities it gave to a descriptive poet. The Miśra or mixed variety of the Prahasana contained the Vīthī in it. (N.S. XX, 111.)

उद्घात्यकादिभिरिदं वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् ।

And the Vīthī and the Prahasana were made part of the first of the three acts of the Samavakāra. (N. S. XX, 70.)

अङ्काऽस्तु सप्रहसनः सविद्रवः स कपटः सवीथ्यङ्गः ॥

The remaining type in the Daśarūpaka is the Utsṛṣṭikāṅka or simply Aṅka. It has two varieties, one with प्रख्यातनायक and another with अप्रख्यातनायक. Bharata says that the latter shall be only an occasional case which means that in his time the Aṅka was slowly becoming less heroic and more popular in its

1. *Vide* my paper in J. O. R. Madras; VI. 4, above referred to *Vide* N. S. XX. Śl. 116.

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theme. The Aṅka is, so to say, an epilogue or a sequel to a Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Ḍima or Vyāyoga. These four plays depict fights among gods and other Prakhyāta heroes while the Aṅka depicts the result of those fights; *i.e.*, opens with the close of the fights and begins with the wailings of the wife or wives and other related persons of those killed. Thus this one-act Karuṇa piece called Aṅka also goes with the heroic class or the heroic dramatic thread in the Daśarūpaka.

These ten were not the only plays which Bharata knew. Just as the features of one were influencing the other and thus new types were growing and bigger and fuller dramas were created before Bharata, so also the process was going on in the same manner after Bharata also. Perhaps the nomenclature 'Daśarūpaka' is older than Bharata, in whose time however there was at least one more drama *viz.*, the Nāṭikā. There is no reason in saying that it is not comprehended in the Daśarūpaka because it is only derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. For, all the types including the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa have developed only in exactly the same way as the Nāṭikā. The Nāṭikā is a result of the further coalition of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. It has the latter's features but has a King as its hero; but that King need not be a very famous purāṇic King of old.[1] It is quite reasonable that Viśvanātha thought that the Nāṭikā is derived from both the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, having the rationale of its name in its greater resemblance to the Nāṭaka and hence gave a sister derivative variety leaning more towards the Prakaraṇa called the Prakaraṇikā, *i.e.*, a smaller type of Prakaraṇa. There was however no specimen of it as can be seen from Viśvanātha's remarks.

"अथ प्रकरणिका—

नाटिकैव प्रकरणी सार्थवाहादिनायका ।
समानवंशजा नेतुः भवेद्यत्र च नायिका ॥
मृग्यमुदाहरणम् ।" S. D. VI. 306.

Dramatic varieties were thus increasing and the next codification after the Daśarūpaka stage found in Bharata, is to be

1. In this derivative type, there is a lot of discussion as to the real nature, number etc., of hero, heroines etc. Abhinava here quotes many writers, Lollaṭa, Ghaṇṭaka etc. *Vide* J. O. R. Madras; Vol. VI, No. 3.

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found in the now lost work of Kohala, which is often quoted by Abhinava and other writers and whose importance can sufficiently be realised by the fact of Kohala appearing in the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra[2] itself as the author of the Uttara Tantra which means the rest of the Nāṭya Śāstra. Kohala is handed down as the writer who first introduced, *i.e.*, noticed and described under the name 'Uparūpakas' the new forms of drama which sprung up after Bharata. The Uparūpakas are not all of them minor; they are not all of them small dance varieties; they are not all of them only Nṛtya or पदार्थाभिनय; they are not all of them devoid of speech, Vācikaśūnya, or full of music and gesture— गीताभिनय-प्रधान. The Troṭaka or Toṭaka, the Saṭṭaka, not to mention the Nāṭikā, are all as much drama as the Naṭaka, the Prakaraṇa and the Prahasana. They are more perfect as dramas than such representatives of the Daśarūpaka like the Vīthī and the Aṅka. The Nāṭikā, the Prakaraṇikā of Viśvanātha, the Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka are therefore Vākyārthābhinaya and Rasābhinaya and thus cannot go into the same class called Uparūpaka with Ḍombi, Śrīgaditam, Rāsakam etc., which are really only Padārtha or Bhāva Abhinaya and are, generally speaking, devoid of much Vācika and are full of music and gesturing. Śāradātanaya recognises this fact that in the list of Uparūpakas also there are dramas with Rasa or Vākyārtha Abhinaya and that these, properly speaking, are not minor but form a supplementary list of dramas.

रसाश्रया यद्यपि स्युः नाटिकातोटकादयः । Bhā. Pra. VII, p. 180.

Śāradātanaya separates these, the Nāṭikā, the Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka and speaks in Chap. IX only of the rest, Goṣṭhī, Ḍombī, etc., as Uparūpakas or Nṛtyātmaka varieties or Padārthābhinaya. Another difference is that the Nṛtyaprabandhas are done by only one person; they are एकहार्य even as the Bhāṇa among dramas. The danseuse personates all the persons involved in the songs which she sings and renders into gesture. The Lāsya described by Bharata in Chap. XX and the South Indian Nautch are examples of this variety. Abhinava explains this difference at length towards the end of Chapter four, mentioning here many Nṛtyaprabandhas or Uparūpakas with their definitions. He shows how drama, acted by many taking the part of all the

2. N. S. I, 26 and XXXVI, 65 and 71.

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persons, differs from varieties of dance or Nṛtya like Rāgakāvya, Ḍombī etc. The quality of dance increases if the themes of these are separate Muktakas and are done by one person, with a supporting musician and other features as in Nautch. The quality of drama increases when there is a connected story as a theme and many act the theme. The Tāṇḍava was first mere dance, but it approached the dramatic form when the story of Śiva's burning away of the Tripura demons was sung by Nārada, and closely following it Śiva danced and rendered the story in Abhinaya.

"तदुक्तं कोहलेन—

'सन्ध्यायां नृत्यतः शम्भोर्भक्त्याद्रौ नारदः पुरा ।
गीतवांस्त्रिपुरोन्माथं तच्चित्तस्त्वथ गीतके ॥
चकाराभिनयं प्रीतस्ततस्तण्डुं च सोऽब्रवीत् ।
नाट्योक्त्याभिनयेनेदं वत्स योजय ताण्डवम् ॥' "

Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. ed., p. 182.

When all the characters in this Tripuronmātha are acted by different persons, we go nearer to drama, even though the actors are still dumb, closely rendering in gesture the theme which is being sung by another set of music-artists nearby. It is this type of Tāṇḍava that is flourishing in Kerala as Katha Kali. The class of performances within which come Ḍombī, Rāgakāvya, etc., was increasing in number; Chalita appears in Kālidāsa; Daṇḍin adds Śamyā. Others are recorded by Someśvara and Bhoja, and following them, by Pārśvadeva in his Saṅgītasamayasāra and by later writers like Jayasena, author of the Nṛtta Ratnāvali. With that branch of stage-performances looking like Ballet we are not now concerned more.

To return to drama proper, we know that Bharata himself has described an additional variety called Nāṭikā. Kohala is the first writer to record other varieties which rose up and this we know from Abhinava's remarks, which will be quoted presently. The additional types to be included into the class of Rūpaka proper, reclaiming them from the Uparūpaka fold, are Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka. Bhoja somehow leaves the Toṭaka, but he describes the Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka. Perhaps he leaves it out, because the Toṭaka is not very much different from the Nāṭikā. He divides the dramatic compositions—दृश्यकाव्य—into two, Vākyārthābhinaya and Padārthābhinaya and includes in the

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former, the ten kinds of Bharata and the Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka.

वाक्यार्थाभिनयोऽयं
प्रकीर्तितो नाटकादिभेदेन ।
द्वादशविधपदार्था-
भिनयमथ यथास्थितं वक्ष्ये ॥ Śṛ. Pra. Mad. MS. Vol. II, Chap. XI, p. 422.

Śāradātanaya also says that these three belong to the drama class and are derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

नाटके च प्रकरणे नाटिकायाः पुरातनैः ।
अन्तर्भावः कृतस्तस्यां तोटकस्यापि दर्शितः ॥
नाटिकाया नाटकस्याभेदः प्रकरणस्य वा ।
सट्टकस्तोटकस्यैव भेद इत्यभिधीयते ॥
तोटकस्योच्यते सद्भिरन्तर्भावोऽपि नाटके ।
नाटकादेरयं भेदो नाटिकारूपकं भवेत् ।
नाटिकाप्रतिमत्वाच्च सट्टकोऽपि तथाविधः ।
नाटके तोटकस्यान्तर्भावाद्रूपकमेव सः ॥
दिव्यमानुषसंयोगः तोटकं नाटकानुगम् । Bhā. Pra. VII, p. 181,

Again in Chap. IX he says

नाटिकायाः तोटकस्य सट्टकस्य च लक्षणम् ।
अंशत्वान्नाटकस्यापि तथा प्रकरणस्य च ।
आनुषङ्गिकमेतेषां लक्षणं तत्र दर्शितम् ॥ p. 253.

Thus newer varieties are created from older ones, by the engrafting of the features selected from two old types, or by reforming an old form into a new one by slight changes and addition of newer features. It is thus possible to show that all other varieties of drama are derived from or are perfections or elaborations of certain features available in the biggest, the most elaborate and perfect types, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

The difference between one type of drama and another, and between one drama and another of the same type is due to the difference in theme or Itivṛtta, in the Rasa, in the Vṛtti that is inherently fused with Rasa as the atmosphere of the Rasa and the Śarīra of the Rasa called Itivṛtta, and in the number and

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nature of the hero, heroine, and other male and female characters. That is, to be brief, the difference lies in their different Lakṣaṇas which Bharata calls in this connection as Karma. Again the dramas may differ on account of the difference in the way in which they are produced and presented. As for instance, the Bhāṇa is to be done by one actor with the stage-convention or Nāṭya dharmī called Ākāśa bhāṣita, a frail bridge thrown over the gap between the monologue and the drama. The Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka are said to contain a larger amount of music and to be characterised by the introduction of dance-scenes, they being plays depicting the king's life in his harem. These differences seem to be called by Bharata as Prayoga, method or manner of presenting or producing on the stage. Says Bharata:

कथयिष्याम्यहं विप्रा दशरूपविकल्पनम् ।
नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः ॥
सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां मातृका वृत्तयः स्मृताः ।
आभ्यो विनिस्सृतं ह्येतद्दशरूपं प्रयोगतः ॥ N. S.XX. 1 and 4.

Abhinava is a commentator, having infinite मनोधर्म, to use a traditional idiom. Closing our eyes to the strained interpretation which Abhinava puts upon the word प्रयोगतः here, we must appreciate his remarks on Drama and the eternal increase of varieties and types of Drama in general. The interpretation explains many a fact in the historical evolution of dramatic types. What we above suggested as the meaning of Prayoga as a factor distinguishing one type of drama from another is included by Abhinava in Karma or Lakṣaṇa itself and Prayoga is interpreted very significantly. He says that Prayoga is suitable adaptation, as in the case of the Nāṭikā which new type is created by borrowing ideas from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

प्रकृष्टः उचितः योगः परस्परसंबन्धः, यथा प्रकरणनाटकलक्षणयोगात् नाटिकेति ।" Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS., Vol. II, p. 440.

Thus dramas which once get distinguished into many types by their Karma or Svalakṣaṇa like the Nāṭaka, the Prakaraṇa etc., again multiply into further varieties by a mutual overflow or mixing or adaptations resulting in such types as the Nāṭikā, the Toṭaka, the Saṭṭaka etc. Thus do poets create new types of

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dramas. Prayoga is the fecund creative principle which they employ and which denotes the possibility of innumerable varieties of drama eternally springing up.

"तेनैव प्रयोगप्रकारेण अन्योऽपि परस्परसंबन्धवैचित्र्यकृतो भेदः उत्प्रेक्ष्य इत्यर्थः ।" *Ibid.*

Abhinava adds that by this interpretation of the word 'Prayoga', he has sanctioned Bharata-Prāmāṇya for the later types like Toṭaka, Saṭṭaka etc., which Kohala introduced.

"उक्तव्याख्याने तु कोहलादिलक्षिततोटकसट्टकरासकादिसङ्ग्रहः ।"[1]

Ibid. p. 441

Therefore the name Daśarūpaka applies to all types of drama. It simply means Drama. The number 'ten' stands to signify ten kinds of tendencies in drama. This number is only an Upalakṣaṇa and we put upon it a very liberal interpretation. The two main tendencies are the *heroic*, portraying heroes of epics, gods and their doings and the *realistic*, depicting ordinary society, expressing themselves most perfectly and elaborately in the first two types called the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. The comic is a tendency which finds expression in both of these, only in a small measure, its need there being the necessity to have a variety of interests. But its pronounced expression and ample treatment are in the type called Prahasana, Farce. The smaller expression of the heroic, with more of energetic action like fights is had as the common feature of the Samavakāra, Ḍima, Vyāyoga and Īhāmṛga. This point has been sufficiently explained before. This seems to me to be the intelligent way of understanding Bharata's Daśarūpakas. Therefore it is that Bharata says—

विज्ञेयं दशमं नाट्यलक्षणम् । XX. 3.

and Abhinava says elsewhere, as we shall see now, that Daśarūpa is a set of ten tendencies or ten aspects, and that each type is named after that Rūpa, form or tendency or aspect which is predominant in it. For names can be given only on the principle of prominence of a certain feature. If an elephant is called Dantin, it is because of the prominence of its tusks and not because other animals are devoid of teeth. So also the ten

1. *Vide* my paper on Vṛttis, J. O. R. Vol. VI, Part IV, pp. 352—354.

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Rūpas are present everywhere. If a drama is to be perfect and full of varied interest, it should have all the ten Rūpas but each drama shall be named after that Rūpa which characterises it by its predominance. All the while that feature is certainly available in other types, but only in a small measure. Thus there will be लक्षणसंप्लव in spite of which names can be given by the प्राधान्यन्याय. Says Abhinava :—

"दशरूपाणि यस्य तत् दशरूपं काव्यमित्यर्थः । अत एव न सकलः प्रबन्धो नाटकम्, प्रबन्धस्य किञ्चिद्रूपम्; तल्लक्षणांशबाहुल्यात्तु तद्व्यपदेशयोगः । अत एव न दशसंख्या विभागार्था, येन सट्टकादीनां त्यागः स्यात्; तत्रापि हि दशरूपलक्षणयोगोऽस्त्येव ।" Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 442.

Abhinava says that if a play is called Nāṭaka, it is not that the play in every part of it is Nāṭaka; only many parts of it are Nāṭaka. TheNāṭaka and other Rūpas are available elsewhere also. Thus Saṭṭaka and other new types are also Daśarūpa, since they also are built out of these ten kinds of Rūpa. The Aṅka or Utsṛṣṭikāṅka which is a Karuṇa-one-act piece can be one feature in any bigger drama. In essence, it is only the introduction of pathos of the type of women weeping at the loss of their lovers. The Prahasana is available in the Nāṭaka in its representative, the Vidūṣaka. It is amply available in a Prakaraṇa like the Mṛcchakaṭika. The Prahasana further, along with the Vīthī, is given as part of the Prastāvanā. When we go through the Sandhyaṅgas of a Nāṭaka, we find among them some of the Vīthyaṅgas. Trigata, Udghātyaka and Avagalita are three Vīthyaṅgas appearing in the Prastāvanā.

विदूषकः सूत्रधारस्तथा वै पारिपार्श्वकः ।
यत्र कुर्वन्ति सञ्जल्पं तत्रापि त्रिगतं स्मृतम् ॥ N. S. Chap. V. 28.

उद्घात्यकः कथोद्घातः प्रयोगातिशयस्तथा ।
प्रवृत्तिकावगलिते आमुखाङ्गानि पञ्च वै ॥ N. S. Chap. XXII. 30.

The Vīthī, which from its description by Bharata is clearly seen to be a comic monologue or dialogue, contains much comic element in speech and is a predecessor of the Prahasana into which it laterly merged away. This is shown by Bharata recognising a Miśra variety of the Prahasana, which is one into which has been introduced the Vīthī completely. Says Bharata at the end of his description of the Prahasana—

उद्घात्यकादिभिरिदं (प्रहसनं) वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् । XX. Śl. 111.

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The atmosphere of Nāgaraka-life permeating the Bhāṇa is seen in that variety of the Prakaraṇa which has a courtezan as its heroine. The comic and satiric aspects of the Bhāṇa find themselves represented in the Prahasana; and the erotic-comic aspect of the Bhāṇa is also seen as the feature of certain lower varieties of the Prahasana featuring courtezan and many other low characters. As Abhinava remarks, the chief characteristic of the Bhāṇa, its Ākāśa bhāṣita, is available in Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas. We are told by Abhinava that the Uparūpakas belonging to the drama class, *viz.*, Nāṭikā, Toṭaka and Saṭṭaka are all derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. We are also told by him that the Uparūpaka varieties of Nṛtya named Bhāṇa, Preraṇa and Bhāṅikā adopt the Anyāpadeśa method of describing symbolically animals to suggest the intended idea and that the danseuse sings these Anyāpadeśas or Aprastutapraśaṁsās with the gait of lion, elephant or other animals figuring in those songs. Now this animal symbology adopted for deft suggestion is employed in Nāṭakas. As for instance, the friends Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā, intending to give notice to Śakuntalā of the approach of Gautamī address the Cakravāka pair:—

चक्रवाकवधूके ! आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरम्, उपस्थिता रजनी ।

Further this animal allegory is the method of suggesting the scenic situation, the actor entering and his mood employed in the Dhruvāgāna. This can be seen from the operatic Dhruvā fittings, fortunately preserved in certain recensions of the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśīya. Bharata also lays down as regards writing these Dhruvās of exit, entrance etc.,—

ध्रुवाणामाश्रयः कार्या ह्यौपम्यगुणसंश्रयाः ।
उत्तमाधममध्यानां स्त्रीणां नृणामथापि च ॥
चन्द्राग्निसूर्यपवना दैवपार्थिवयोस्तथा ॥ etc.

N. S. XXXII. Śls. 373-388.

ओजःकृता हि ये वै गुरुवर्णा वृषगजसिंहर्क्षाः ।
सारसवानरहंसैः तथा मयूरैश्च कर्तव्याः ॥ etc. Ibid. Śl. 398.

Just as three Vīthyaṅgas are available in the Prastāvanā of all dramas, more Vīthyaṅgas are available in the body of a Nāṭaka as Sandhyaṅgas. Thus we have Adhibala as a Garbha-Sandhi-Aṅga and Chalana as an Avamarśa-Sandhi-Aṅga, both of which are Vīthyaṅgas. Further all the Vīthyaṅgas are illustrated

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by the Daśarūpaka and other works not by any special drama called Vīthī but only by various points in the body of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa proper. The Toṭaka which is the name of a later variety of drama derived from Nāṭaka, like Kāḷidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya, is found as an Aṅga of the Garbha Sandhi. (N. S. XXI, 89.) Special varieties may develop from among the total mass of the features of existing dramas. One characteristic of one type can be taken and put as a special variety with a new name, after elaborating it. Thus a Ṛtusaṁhāra may creep into a Kāvya or might have emerged out as a separate form of Kāvya from the middle of the Mahākāvya. The Sandeśa type of Khaṇḍakāvya may similarly be only the perfection of an Aṁśa or a small part of a Mahākāvya, like the Hanumaddūta in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Haṁsadūta in the story of Nala. In Tamil we have a type of Kāvya called Ulā (உலா) which is only the elaboration or perfection into a separate type of Kāvya of the city-damsels rushing in various states of half-finished toilet, to the windows of their mansions to see Aja and Indumatī as in the Raghuvaṁśa or Śiva, as in the Kumārasambhava. The Bhikṣāṭana Kāvya of Utprekṣā Vallabha (K. M. edn.) also seems to have taken inspiration from here. Even so we can have an act of a bigger drama separated into a distinct type. The द्यूतकरसंवाहकाङ्क in the Mṛcchakaṭika or the Praveśaka in the Nāgānanda with the drunken Viṭa, Ceṭa, Vidūṣaka and Ceṭī can by themselves be specimens of the Prahasana. Thus Daśa-rūpa means 'Drama' or ten kinds of dramatic tendencies or ten aspects of drama. Each drama gets its name Nāṭaka etc., by the predominance of its feature, the Nāṭaka Rūpa etc. The Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa are the biggest and most perfect types of drama having in them completely all the ten Rūpas. They two are like the epic poem having within itself the descriptive and many other aspects. In an essay on Lyric Poetry, John Drinkwater holds that there is no special class of poetry called the lyric and that all poetry is lyrical. So also it can be said that the epic or any kind of poetry is in essense dramatic. Abhinava says that his teacher Tauta holds the view that Rasa which the soul of poetry can be realised only when the thing is visualised as in drama but that it is possible in epic poetry because of the powerful description of the poets which shows the objects before our minds' eye as if enacted before us. Abhinava goes a step further and says that Mahākāvya also is essentially only drama.

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So said Vāmana to whom Mahākāvya, Kathā, Ākhyāyikā etc., would also be only species of drama.

"ततोऽन्यभेदक्लृप्तिः । I. ii. 32.

ततो दशरूपकादन्येषां भेदानां क्लृप्तिः कल्पनमिति । दशरूपकस्यैव हीदं सर्वं विलसितम्, यदुत कथाख्यायिके महाकाव्यमिति ।"

K. V. S. and Vr.

Abhinava thus supplements Vāmana:—

"वयं तु ब्रूमः—काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपात्मकमेव ।" and

"काव्यं च नाट्यमेव"

p. 292, Gaek. Edn.

On p. 288 Abhinava adds that Sahṛdayas of high culture in the art of appreciating poetry enjoy a drama or Kāvya even when it is not acted because their mind makes up the wanting elements. Thus even as the epic comprehends within itself all forms of poetry, even as in any one form of poetry, aspects of other forms are also necessarily present, so also the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa or any one form of drama comprehends all forms of drama. Says Abhinava that in one form of poetry or drama, other forms also are present.

"अन्ये त्वाहुः—एकैकस्य दश रूपाणि संभवन्ति । तथा च वीथ्यङ्गानां सर्वत्र सम्भवः, परगतवचनानुभाषणरूपभाषणयोगश्च किं ब्रवीषीत्याकाशभाषिते ।"

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 442

"यदि वा एकैकमपि काव्यं दशरूपमित्युक्तं प्राक् ।"

Ibid. Vol. III, p. 6.

"दशरूपाणि यस्य तत् दशरूपं काव्यम् इत्यर्थः ।"

Ibid. Vol. II, p. 442.

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SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA

II

ADHIKARAṆASAṄGATI

BY

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(*Continued from page* 24 *of* Vol. VII, part i)

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

एवं भूतभौतिकानां जीवोपकरणानामुत्पत्त्यादिनिरूपणानन्तरं तदुपहितस्य जीवस्य संसारप्रकारं निरूपयितुं देहान्तरारम्भे भूतपरिष्वक्तस्यैव तावद्गमनमाह—"तदन्तरप्रतिपत्तौ रंहसि संपरिष्वक्तः प्रश्ननिरूपणाभ्याम्" (३. १. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे भूतपरिष्वक्तस्य स्वर्गारोहणं निरूपितम्। संप्रति ततोऽवरोहतामनुज्ञायवत्तामाह—"कृतात्ययेऽनुशयवान् दृष्टस्मृतिभ्यां यथेतमनेवं च" (३. १. ८.) इति ॥

इष्टादिकारिणां गतिनिरूपणानन्तरमनिष्टादिकारिणामपि गतिमाह—"अनिष्टादिकारिणामपि च श्रुतम्" (३. १. १२.) इति ॥

अनिष्टादिकारिणामधोगतिप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन स्वर्गादधोगच्छतामाकाशादिसादृश्यापत्तिस्तेदवरोहश्रुतेरर्थ इत्याह—"तत्साभाव्यापत्तिरुपपत्तेः" (३. १. २२.) इति ॥

पूर्वसादृश्यंगतानामुत्तरोत्तरसादृश्यापत्तिर्नातिचिरेणेत्याह—"नातिचिरेण विशेषात्" (३. १. २३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणविषयवाक्यादनन्तरवाक्यार्थो न व्रीह्यादिभावः, किं तु संश्लेषमात्रमित्येतन्निर्णयायाह—"अन्याधिष्ठिते पूर्ववदभिलापात्" (३. १. २४.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

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॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

एवं संसारगतिनिरूपणेन दृढीकृतवैराग्यस्य वाक्यार्थावगतये तत्त्वंपदार्थौ परिशोधयितुं पादमारभमाणः त्वंपदार्थस्य जाग्रदवस्थासंसारनिरूपणेन निरूपितेत्यभिसन्धाय स्वप्नावस्थानिर्णयमाह—"**सन्ध्ये सृष्टिराह हि**" (३. २. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वं करणोपरमलक्षणां स्वप्नावस्थां निरूप्य संप्रत्यन्तःकरणलयलक्षणायां सुषुप्त्यवस्थायां जीवस्यावस्थानं निरूपयति—"**तदभावो नाडीषु तच्छ्रुतेरात्मनि च**" (३. २. ७) इति ॥

सुषुप्तौ जीवस्यावस्थानसमर्थनानन्तरमुत्थानस्थानमपि तस्य पूर्वं जाग्रदभिमानगोचरो देह एवेत्याह—"**स एव तु कर्मानुस्मृतिशब्दविधिभ्यः**" (३. २. ९) इति ॥

एवमवस्थात्रयमुपवर्ण्यावस्थान्तरं मूर्छालक्षणमुपपादयति—"**मुग्धेऽर्धसंपत्तिः परिशेषात्**" (३. २. १०) इति ॥

यत्र जीवस्य सुषुप्तादावौपाधिकरूपं शाम्यति तस्य ब्रह्मणः तत्त्वनिर्धारणार्थमाह—"**न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि** (३. २. ११) इति ॥

निर्विशेषत्वनिरूपणप्रसङ्गेन मूर्तामूर्ताख्यसर्वविशेषनिषेधकवाक्यार्थमाह—"**प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः**" (३. २. २२.) इति ॥

ब्रह्मव्यतिरिक्तं समस्तं वस्तु प्रतिषिध्यत इत्युक्तम्; तदसिद्धं सत्त्वादिव्यपदेशेभ्यो वस्त्वन्तरसद्भावावगतेरित्याङ्कामपाकरोति—"**परमतः सेतून्मानसंबन्धभेदव्यपदेशेभ्यः**" (३. २. २१.) इति ॥

तर्हि निर्विशेषत्वात् ब्रह्मणः फलदातृत्वं न स्यादित्याशङ्क्य परमार्थतो निर्विशषत्वेऽपि व्यवहारावस्थायामेतदुपपन्नमिति सिद्धिफलसाधनान्युपासनानि दिदर्शयिषुरुपादयति—"**फलमत उपपत्तेः**" (३. २.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

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॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

एवं ब्रह्मणः पारमार्थिकं व्यावहारिकं च रूपं निरूप्य संप्रति विज्ञानानां प्रतिवेदान्तं प्रतिपाद्यमानानां नामरूपाद्यभेदादभेद इत्याह—"**सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात्**" (३. ३. १.) इति ॥

विज्ञानभेदे च तत्संबन्धगुणानां तत्रतत्रोपसंहारं फलमाह—"**उपसंहारोऽर्थाभेदाद्विधिशेषवत्समाने च**" (३. ३. ५.) इति ॥

"नामाभेदाद्विद्वैकत्वे तद्गुणानां चान्योऽन्यमुपसंहारः" इत्यभिधानादुद्गीथविद्ययोरपि छान्दोग्यबृहदारण्यकस्थयोः संज्ञाभेदादभेदमाशङ्क्य निराकरोति—"**अन्यथात्वं शब्दात्**" (३. ३. ६.) इति ॥

नामाभेदः उद्गीथविशेषितविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेनोद्गीथविशेषणत्वमोङ्कारस्योपपादयति—"**व्याप्तेश्च समञ्जसम्**" (३. ३. ९.) इति ॥

उद्गीथविशेषणस्यौङ्कारस्यैवोपास्यत्वमिति निरूपिते प्राणस्यापि तत्प्रकरणपठितगुणमात्रविशेषणस्यैव तत्र तत्रोपास्यत्वमस्तीत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—"**सर्वाभेदादन्यत्रेमे**" (३. ३. १०.) इति ॥

प्राणगुणानां सार्वत्रिकत्वं निरूपयति—"**आनन्दादयः प्रधानस्य**" (३. ३. ११.) इति ॥

ब्रह्मस्वरूपप्रतिपत्त्यर्थानामानन्दादीनां निरूपणप्रसङ्गेन ब्रह्मप्रतिपत्त्यर्थानां पृथक्प्रतिपाद्यत्वं निराचष्टे—"**आध्यानाय प्रयोजनाभावात्**" (३. ३. १४.) इति ॥

वाक्यभेदादर्थादीनां पृथक्प्रतिपाद्यत्वे निराकृते "प्रजापतेरेतो देवा" इत्यत्र देवादिकर्तृत्वेन पूर्वप्रकृतादपरब्रह्मणोऽन्यो लोकस्रष्टा परमात्मा नाभ्युपेयः वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गादित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—"**आत्मगृहीतिरितरवदुत्तरात्**" (३. ३. १६.) इति ॥

आचामेदिति विधिविभक्तेराचमनश्रवणादनग्नताचिन्तने चाश्रवणात् तत्र विधिकल्पनायां च वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गादाचमनमेव विधेयमिति पूर्वाधिकरणपूर्वपक्षन्यायम् अवलम्ब्योत्थितां शङ्कां निराचष्टे— "**कार्याख्यानादपूर्वम्**" (३. ३. १८.) इति ॥

एवं शाखाभेदे विद्यैक्यं गुणोपसंहारं च प्रपञ्च्य संप्रति शाखैक्येऽपि तदुभयं दर्शयति—"**समान एवं चाभेदात्**" (३. ३. १९.) इति ॥

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विद्यैक्ये गुणोपसंहारः प्रदर्शितः । संप्रति तदैक्येऽपि गुणानुपसंहारस्थलं दर्शयति—"**संबन्धादेवमन्यत्रापि**" (३. ३. २०.) इति ॥

एवमायतनभेदात् गुणानुपसंहारः प्रदर्शितः । संप्रति संभृत्यादि-गुणानामपि तेनैव हेतुना विद्यान्तरेष्वनुपसंहरणीयत्वमाह—"**संभृतिद्युव्याप्त्यपि चातः**" (३. ३. २३.) इति ॥

एवं तत्तद्देशसंभेदसंभिन्नविद्यासु गुणानुपसंहारप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्गेन कालभेद-संबन्धविद्यागुणानामनुपसंहारं दर्शयति—"**पुरुषविद्यायामिव चेतरेषाम-नाम्नानात्**"(३. ३. २४.) इति ॥

एवं तत्तन्मन्त्रसंबन्धयज्ञशब्दोदितविद्याभेदे विचारप्रसङ्गेन तत्तन्मन्त्राणां यज्ञादिकर्मणां च सन्निधिपठितानां तत्र तत्र विद्याङ्गत्वमाशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—"**वेधाद्यर्थभेदात्**" (३. ३. २५.) इति ॥

सन्निधिपठितानामपि मन्त्रादीनां विद्याशेषत्वे निराकृते क्वचिदेव सन्निधौ पठितोपायनशब्दस्य न हानशब्दशेषत्वं सुतरामित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—"**हानौ तूपायनशब्दशेषत्वात्कुशाच्छन्दस्तुत्युपगानवत्तदुक्तम्**" (३. ३. २६.) इति॥

एवं द्वितीयवर्णके विधूननशब्दस्य सुकृतदुष्कृतहानार्थत्वं निरूपितम् । संप्रति तद्धानावसरं निरूपयति—"**सांपरायेतर्तव्याभावात्तथा ह्यन्ये**" (३. ३. २७.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे निरूपितपुण्यपापहानसन्निधिपठितदेवयानगतेरुपायनवत् सार्वत्रिकप्राप्तावाचष्टे—"**गतेरर्थवत्त्वमुभयथान्यथा हि विरोधः**"(३. ३. २९.) इति ॥

पुण्यपापहानिवत्तत्सन्निधिपठिताया अपि गतेर्न सार्वत्रिकता चेत्तर्हि सगुण-विद्यासन्निधौ क्वचित्पठिता अपि गतिर्न सर्वगुणविद्यासंबन्धिनी स्यादित्याशङ्क्याह-"**अनियमः सर्वेषामविरोधशब्दानुमानाभ्याम्**" (३. ३. ३१.) इति ॥

सगुणविद्यासु कालान्तरफलत्वात् सर्वासु गतिरुपसंहर्तव्येत्युक्तम् । इदानीं निर्गुणाया अपि सद्योमुक्तिफलत्वदर्शनात् वसिष्ठासु कालान्तरभाविफलत्व-मविशिष्टमिति तस्यामपि विद्यायां गतिः किं न स्यादिति मन्वानं प्रत्याह —"**यावदधिकारमवस्थितिराधिकारिकाणाम्**" (३. ३. ३२.) इति ॥

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निर्गुणविद्याया नियतफलत्वे दर्शिते तस्याः सर्वैरेव निषेधशब्दैरुद्भवः किं वा कतिपयैरेवेति मीमांसायामाह—"**अक्षरधियां त्ववरोधः समयतद्भावभ्यामौपसदवत्तदुक्तम्**" (३. ३. ३३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रतिपादनप्रकारसामान्यात्तत्प्रतिपाद्यस्य च तद्भावाद्विद्वैक्यत्वे प्रदर्शिते तदुभयाभावादेकत्र भोक्त्रभोक्त्रोरेवोपन्यासात् "द्वा सुपर्णा" "ऋतम्" इत्यादिमन्त्रयोः नैकार्थत्वमित्याशङ्क्याह—"**इयदामननात्**" (३. ३. ३४.) इति ॥

समनन्तरातीताधिकरणे मन्त्रद्वयस्याम्नानाभेदादेकार्थत्वैकविद्यात्ववत्कहोलोषस्तवाक्ययोरेकविद्यात्वं दर्शयति—"**अन्तरा भूतग्रामवत् स्वात्मनः**" (३. ३. ३५.) इति ॥

उपदेशवदित्येकत्वोपदेशवाक्यस्योदाहरणतया पूर्वाधिकरणेऽप्युदाहरणात् तत्प्रसङ्गेनैकत्वनिर्देशकवाक्यान्तराणां तात्पर्यं निरूपयति—"**व्यतिहारो विशिषन्ति हीतरवत्**" (३. ३. ३७.) इति ॥

आदित्यपुरुषं प्रत्याम्नातस्य तद्योगमित्यादेः वाक्यस्यार्थनिरूपणप्रसङ्गेनादित्यपुरुषमेव प्रकृत्याधीतायाः "**तद्यत्तत्सत्यम्**" इत्यादिकायाः सत्यविद्याया ऐक्यं साधयति—"**सैव हि सत्यादयः**" (३. ३. ३८.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे गुणोपसंहार उपासनैक्ये सत्याध्यानार्थो दर्शितः । इदानीं सगुणनिर्गुणविद्याप्रकरणे श्रूयमाणानां स्तुतिध्यानोपयोगिनां गुणानामन्यत्रोपसंहारं दर्शयति—"**कामादीतरत्र तत्र चायतनादिभ्यः**" (३. ३. ३९.) इति ॥

एवं सगुणविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेन तदङ्गप्राणाहुतिचिन्तामारभते—"**आदरादलोपः**" (३. ३. ४०) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणविषयवाक्ये विजिघित्सोऽपिपास इति भोजनेच्छाशून्यत्वप्रतिपादनात्तत्प्रसङ्गेनैव भोजनशून्यस्य प्राणाहुतिलोपं निरूपयति—"**आदरादलोपः**" (३. ३. ४०) इति ॥

विद्याङ्गप्राणाहुत्यादीनामनित्यत्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन कर्माङ्गसंबद्धविज्ञानानामनित्यत्वं निरूपयति—"**तन्निर्धारणानियमस्तद्दृष्टेः पृथग्ध्यप्रतिबन्धः फलम्**" (३. ३. ४२.) इति ॥

फलपृथक्त्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेनोपगमनपृथक्त्वं निरूपयति—"**प्रदानवदेव तदुक्तम्**" (३. ३. ४३.) इति ॥

वायुसंबन्धविद्यानिरूपणानन्तरं साम्यादिकाग्निविद्याविषयां चिन्ताम् आरभते—"**लिङ्गभूयस्त्वात्तद्धि बलीयस्तदपि**" (३. ३. ४४.) इति ॥

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पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रकरणबाधेन मनश्चिदादीनां क्रत्वङ्गतां निरस्य पुरुषार्थत्वं निरूपितम् । तत्र कोऽसौ पुरुष इत्याकाङ्क्षायां तन्निर्धारणायाह—"**एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात्**" (३. ३. ५३.) इति ॥

देहभवतश्चैतन्यस्य देहभावेऽप्यभाववदुद्गीथादिभावे भवत उपासनस्य तद्भावेऽप्यभावमाशङ्क्य परिहरति—"**अङ्गावबद्धास्तु न शाखासु हि प्रतिवेदम्**" (३. ३. ५५.) इति ॥

तत्तद्विशेषालम्बनमुपासनं न भवति इति पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रतिपादितम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेन वैश्वानरोपासनापि तत्तदङ्गविशेषणालम्बना न भवतीति प्रतिपादयति—"**भूम्नः क्रतुवज्ज्यायस्त्वं तथा हि दर्शयति**" (३. ३. ५७.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे सत्यामपि सुतेजःप्रभृतीनामुपासनाभेदश्रुतौ समस्तस्योपासनं ज्याय इत्युक्तम् । तर्हि सर्वासामपि भिन्नश्रुतीनामुपासनानां समस्यैवोपासनं ज्यायः इति शङ्कायां तन्निराकरणायाह—"**नाना शब्दादिभेदात्**" (३. ३. ५८.) इति ॥

एवं विद्याभेदं प्रसाध्य तदनुष्ठाने भेदं दर्शयति—"**विकल्पोऽविशिष्ट-फलत्वात्**" (३. ३. ५९.)

अविशिष्टफलत्वाद्विकल्प इत्युक्तम्; तस्य प्रत्युदाहरणमाह—"**काम्यास्तु यथाकामं समुच्चीयेरन् न वा पूर्वहेत्वभावात्**" (३. ३. ६०.) इति ॥

क्रमोपासनानां समुच्चयः पूर्वाधिकरणे दर्शितः । तथैवाङ्गोपासनानामपि समुच्चयमाशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—"**अङ्गेषु यथाश्रयभावः**" (३. ३. ६१.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

कर्माङ्गसंबद्धविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेन ब्रह्मणि विद्यायाः कर्माङ्गसंबन्धमाशङ्क्य निवारयति—"**पुरुषार्थोऽतश्शब्दादिति बादरायणः**" (३. ४. १.) इति ॥

वैदिकाग्निहोत्रादिकर्मरहितेषूर्ध्वरेतस्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायाः संभवान्न तस्याः कर्माङ्गत्वमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं त एव न सन्ति तद्विधायकवाक्याभावादित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—"**परामर्शं जैमिनिरचोदना चापवदति**" (३. ४. १८.) इति ॥

स्तुतित्वेनावभासमानाश्रमवचनेषु विधिरभ्युपगतः । तत्प्रसङ्गेनाङ्गावबद्ध-विद्यावचनेषु विधिं साधयति—"**स्तुतिमात्रमुपादानादिति चेन्नापूर्वत्वात्**" (३. ४. २१.) इति ॥

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विद्याविधानार्थत्वमुद्गीथादिश्रुतीनामुक्तम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेन कथानामपि विद्याविधिशेषत्वे दर्शिते कर्मणामपि तर्हि विद्याशेषत्वमस्तु इत्याशङ्क्य निराकरोति—"अत एव चाग्नीन्धनाद्यपेक्षा" (३. ४. २५.) इति ॥

यत्कर्मानपेक्षं विद्याया दर्शितं तत् स्वफल एव न स्वोत्पत्तावपीत्याह—"सर्वापेक्षा च यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्ववत्" (३. ४. २६.) इति ॥

यज्ञादीनां शमादीनां च विद्यासन्निधिपठितानां विद्याशेषता दर्शिता । तत्प्रसङ्गेन विद्यासन्निधिपठितसर्वान्नाभ्यनुज्ञानस्यापि विद्याशेषतामाशङ्क्याह—"सर्वान्नानुमतिश्च प्राणात्यये तद्दर्शनात्" (३. ४. २८.) इति ॥

सर्वान्नभक्षणमनुष्ठेयं न भवतीत्युक्तम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेनाश्रमकर्माण्यमुमुक्षुणा नानुष्ठेयानीत्याशङ्क्य निराकरोति—"विहितत्वाच्चाश्रमकर्मापि" (३. ४. ३२.) इति ॥

आश्रमकर्मणां नित्यत्वं विद्यासाधनत्वं चास्तीति दर्शितम् । तर्ह्याश्रमकर्मणां विद्यासाधनत्वं नास्तीति मन्वानं प्रत्याह—"अन्तरा चापि तु तद्दृष्टेः" (३. ४. ३६.) इति ॥

दैवच्युताश्रमाणामपि विद्यायामधिकारो दर्शितः । तर्हि बुद्धिपूर्वच्युताश्रमाणामपि विद्यायामधिकारः किं न स्यादित्यत आह—"तद्भूतस्य तु नातद्भावो जैमिनेरपि नियमात्तद्रूपाभावेभ्यः" (३. ४. ४०.) इति ॥

एवमाश्रमच्युतिं निराकृत्य तेषामेव प्रायश्चित्तसद्भावं साधयति—"न चाधिकारिकमपि पतनानुमानात्तदयोगात्" (३. ४. ४१.) इति ॥

कृतप्रायश्चित्तानामपि शिष्टान्यव्यवहारित्वमाह—"बृहिस्तूभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्च" (३. ४. ४३.) इति ॥

अन्यस्मिन् पापकारिणि तेन व्यवहारादन्यस्यापकारो दर्शितः । तत्प्रसङ्गेन अन्यस्मिन्नुपासनाकर्तरि फललक्षणोपकारं तेन व्यवहारादन्यगामिनं दर्शयति—"स्वामिनः फलश्रुतेरित्यात्रेयः" (३. ४. ४४.) इति ॥

अङ्गाश्रयोपासनाप्रसङ्गेनाङ्गान्तरविधिं विद्यायाः साधयति—"सहकार्यान्तरविधिः पक्षेण तृतीयं तद्वतो विध्यात्" (३. ४. ४७.) इति ॥

बाल्यवन्मौनं विधेयमित्युक्तम्; किं पुनस्तद्बाल्यमिति तन्निरूपयति—"अनाविष्कुर्वन्नन्वयात्" (३. ४. ५०.) इति ॥

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एवं बाल्यान्तमुच्चावचसाधनं निरूप्य संप्रति तत्साध्यविद्याजन्मसमयं निरूपयति—"ऐहिकमप्रस्तुतप्रतिबन्धे तद्दर्शनात्" (३. ४. ५१.) इति ॥

एवं विद्यालक्षणे फले कालोत्कर्षापकर्षकृतो विशेषप्रतिनियमो दर्शितः। इदानीं विद्याफले मोक्षे कस्यचिदपि विशेषप्रतिनियमस्याभावं दर्शयति—"एवं मुक्तिफलानियमस्तदवस्थावधृतेस्तदवस्थावधृतेः" (३. ४. ५२.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

पूर्वाध्यायावसाने मोक्षे प्रतिनियमाभावो दर्शितः । इदानीं तु तस्यैव मोक्षाख्यस्य फलस्य स्वरूपप्रतिपादनायाध्यायान्तरमारभमाणः प्रथमं तावदावृत्त्यनुष्ठानं तदन्तरङ्गसाधनस्य श्रवणादेः साधयति—"आवृत्तिरसकृदुपदेशात्" (४. १. १.) इति ॥

श्रवणादिभ्यः आवृत्त्यानुष्ठितेभ्यः कथमीश्वरः प्रतिपत्तव्यः इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् अभेदेनेत्याह—"आत्मेति तूपगच्छन्ति ग्राहयन्ति च" (४. १. ३.) इति ॥

ईश्वरे आत्मत्वमतिः कर्तव्येत्युक्तम् । इदानीं तु प्रतीकविशेषणभूतेऽपीश्वर आत्मत्वप्राप्तौ तद्द्वारा प्रतीकेष्वप्यात्मत्वमतिप्राप्तावाह—"न प्रतीके न हि सः" (४. १. ४.) इति ॥

प्रतीकोदाहरणेष्वेव क्व किंदृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येति निरूपयति—"ब्रह्मदृष्टिरुत्कर्षात्" (४. १. ५.) इति ॥

"आदित्यो ब्रह्म" इत्यादौ प्रथमनिर्दिष्टेषु चरमनिर्दिष्टदृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येत्युक्तम् । तर्हि तेनैव न्यायेन प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादित्यादिषु चरमनिर्दिष्टाङ्गदृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येत्याशङ्क्याह—"आदित्यादिमतयश्चाङ्ग उपपत्तेः" (४. १. ६.) इति ॥

अङ्गाश्रितोपासनास्वासीनकर्मतानियमाभावदितरोपासनास्वपि तन्नियमाभावमाशङ्क्याह—"आसीनः संभवात्" (४. १. ७.) इति ॥

आसीननियमवद्दिगादिनियममाशङ्क्य परिहरति—"यत्रैकाग्रता तत्राविशेषात्" (४. १. ११.) इति ॥

दिगादिनियवमत् कालनियममाशङ्क्याह—"आ प्रायणात्तत्रापि दृष्टम्" (४. १. १२.) इति ॥

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एवं निरूपितधर्मकलापोपेतोपासनादिसाध्यस्य साक्षात्कारस्य फलं निरूपयति—"तदधिगम उत्तरपूर्वाधरयोरश्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशात्" (४. १. १३) इति ॥

अत एव ज्ञानात् पापक्षयमभिधाय तत एव सुकृतक्षयमभिधत्ते—"इतरस्याप्येवमसंश्लेषः पाते तु" (४. १. १४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणाभ्यां निरूपितसुकृतदुष्कृतात्ययस्याविशेषेण प्राप्तिमाशङ्क्याह—"अनारब्धकार्ये एव तु पूर्वे तदवधेः" (४. १. १५.) इति ॥

अनारब्धकार्यस्य पुण्यस्य पापवदश्लेषविनाशौ दर्शितौ । तत्राग्निहोत्रादेर्नित्यस्यापि कर्मणोऽभावात् तस्य ज्ञानसाधनत्वश्रुतिविरोधमाशङ्क्याह—"अग्निहोत्रादि तु तत्कार्यायैव तद्दर्शनात्" (४. १. १६.) इति ॥

नित्यस्य कर्मणो विद्यासाधनत्वमुक्तम् । तत्किं विद्यासंयुक्तस्य उत केवलस्यापीति निर्णेतुमाह—"यदेव विद्ययेति हि" (४. १. १८.) इति ॥

अनारब्धकार्यमग्निहोत्रादिविद्यासंयुक्तं केवलं च ज्ञानसाधनत्वान्नक्षीयत इत्युक्तम् । तर्ह्यारब्धकार्ययोः शुभाशुभयोः कथं प्रक्षय इत्यत आह—"भोगेन त्वितरे क्षपयित्वा संपद्यते" (४. १. १९.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रारब्धकर्मक्षये ब्रह्मसंपत्तिरुक्ता । तत्र सगुणब्रह्मसंपत्तिं निरूपयिष्यन् उत्क्रान्तौ वागादीनां मनसि वृत्तिसंपत्तिं दर्शयति—"वाङ्मनसि दर्शनाच्छब्दाच्च" (४. २. २.) इति ॥

इन्द्रियवृत्तिलयाधारस्य मनोवृत्तिलयाधारं दर्शयति—"तन्मनः प्राण उत्तरात्" (४. २. ३.) इति ॥

तस्यापि प्राणस्य वृत्तिलयाधारं दर्शयति—"सोऽध्यक्षे तदुपगमादिभ्यः" (४. २. ४.) इति ॥

प्रतिपादितोत्क्रान्तिः सगुणब्रह्मविदुषामपि विद्यत इत्याह—"समाना चासृत्युपक्रमादमृतत्वं चानुपोष्य." (४. २. ७.) इति ॥

अभिहितोत्क्रान्तिसमये यावत्संपत्तिः तत्स्वरूपं निरूपयति—"तदापीतेः संसारव्यपदेशात्" (४. २. ८.) इति ॥

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अभिहितोत्क्रान्तेर्निर्गुणब्रह्मवेदिष्वभावं दर्शयति—"प्रतिषेधात् इति चेन्न शारीरात्" (४. २. १२.) इति ॥

पूर्वं ब्रह्मविदः प्राणानां ब्रह्मण्येव लयो दर्शितः। तदयुक्तम्, अन्यत्रापि लयश्रवणादित्याशङ्क्याह—"तानि परे तथा ह्याह" (४. २. १५.) इति ॥

तस्यैव कलाप्रलयस्य निरवशेषतामाह—"अविभागो वचनात्" (४. २. १६.) इति ॥

प्रासङ्गिकीं परविद्विषयां चिन्तां परिसमाप्य संप्रत्यपरविदः पूर्वसूचितासृत्युप्रक्रमं दर्शयति—"तदोकोग्रज्वलनं तत्प्रकाशितद्वारो विद्यासामर्थ्यात् तच्छेषगत्यनुस्मृतियोगाच्च हार्दानुगृहीतश्शताधिकतया" (४.२.१७.) इति ॥

नाडीद्वारा निष्क्रान्तस्य यद्वद्रश्म्यनुसारित्वं तन्निशायामपि समानमित्याह—"रश्म्यनुसारी" (४. २. २८.) इति ॥

पूर्वोक्ताभिरेव युक्तिभिर्निशायामिव दक्षिणायनेऽपि प्रयतः फलावाप्तिरविशिष्टा इत्याह—"अतश्चायनेऽपि दक्षिणे" (२४. २. २०.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

एवं प्रयाणसमयप्रकारं निरूप्य प्रयतो देवयानाख्यां गतिं निरूपयति—"अर्चिरादिना तत्प्रथितेः" (४. ३. १.) इति ॥

अनेकपर्वणां गतिरेकैवेत्युक्तम्; तेषां पुनः पर्वणां यादृशः सन्निवेशः तन्निरूपयति—"वायुशब्दादविशेषाभ्याम्" (४. ३. २.) इति ॥

वायुसन्निवेशविमर्शानन्तरं विद्यान्तरनिर्दिष्टवरुणादेर्निवेशस्थानं विमृशति—"तटितोऽधि वरुणः संबन्धात्" (४. ३. ३.) इति ॥

एवमर्चिरादीनां सन्निवेशं विमृश्य तेषामेव देवतात्वं साधयति—"आतिवाहिकास्तल्लिङ्गात्" (४. ३. ४.) ईति ॥

एवमर्चिरादिकां गतिं निरूप्य तया गन्तव्यं निरूपयति—"कार्यं बादरिरस्य गत्युपपत्तेः" (४. ३. ७.) इति ॥

अर्चिरादिपथेनापरं ब्रह्म प्राप्यत इत्युक्तम्। तत्र प्रतीकालम्बवचनानामपि तत्पथेन गमनात्तत्प्राप्तिप्रसक्तावाह—"अप्रतीकाम्लबनान्नयतीति बादरायणः उभयथा दोषात्तत्क्रतुश्च" (४. ३. १५.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

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॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

संप्रत्यपरविद्यया प्राप्तव्यं निरूप्य परविद्याप्राप्तव्यं निरूपयति—"संपद्याविर्भावः स्वेन शब्दात्" (४. ४. १.) इति ॥

मुक्तो येन स्वरूपेणाभानिष्पद्यते तस्य ब्रह्माविभक्ततां साधयति—"अविभागेन दृष्टत्वात्" (४. ४. ४.) इति ॥

येन ब्रह्मात्मना मुक्ताववतिष्ठते तत्सविशेषं निर्विशेषं वा इति विमृशति—"ब्राह्मेण जैमिनिरुपन्यासादिभ्यः" (४. ४. ५.) इति ॥

परमार्थतो निर्वैशषत्वेऽपि व्यवहारदशयामैश्वर्यं दर्शितम् । तस्यां चैश्वर्यदशायां विभूतिनिर्माणसाधनं निरूपयति—"सङ्कल्पादेव तच्छ्रुतेः" (४. ४. ८.) इति ॥

इदानीं तस्यैव मनस्सद्भावादेहेन्द्रियसद्भावोऽस्ति वा न वेति निरूपयति —"अभावं बादरिराह ह्येवम् (४. ४. १०.) इति ॥

"भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात्" इत्यात्रानेकशरीरनिर्माणं दर्शितम् । इदानीं तेषु प्रवेशप्रकारं योगिनो निरूपयति—"प्रदीपवदावेशस्तथा हि दर्शयति" (४. ४. १५.) इति ॥

एवं योगिनो यदैश्वर्यं निरूपितं तत्किं निरवग्रहम् उत सावग्रहमिति निरूपयति—"जगद्व्यापरवर्जं प्रकरणादसन्निहितत्वाच्च" (४. ४. १७.) इति ॥

पुलकितपदङ्क्त्या भावगर्भैर्वचोभि-
र्हृदि मुदमनवद्यामादधाना बुधानाम् ॥
अधिकरणमणीनां संगतिः संहृतान्ध्या [ध्य]
प्रसरतु चिरमेषा मानिनीं मानिनीव ॥

इति ज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्येण चित्सुखमुनिना
विरचितायाम् अधिकरणसङ्गतौ
॥ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

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A QUERY

(from one of our readers)

Mercury : Latin *Mercurius—Merx, Mercis* : English *Merchandise*
(Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary).

What is the corresponding Sanskrit root ? That Astrological works describe *Budha* as a *Vaiśya* is the only clue I have, if clue it is. Every thing depends on the corresponding Sanskrit root which may be *Mṛś* for aught I know. Whether Grimm's Law applies is more than I can say. Any how I think the subject is worth the attention of a philologist and I invite those who have devoted some time to a study of the most interesting subject to put forward their valuable suggestions.

S. ANANTARAMA AIYAR,
1/12, *Adam Street*,
Mylapore.

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SELECT OPINIONS.

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . . The quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— . . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . . . . .

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— . . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . . . .

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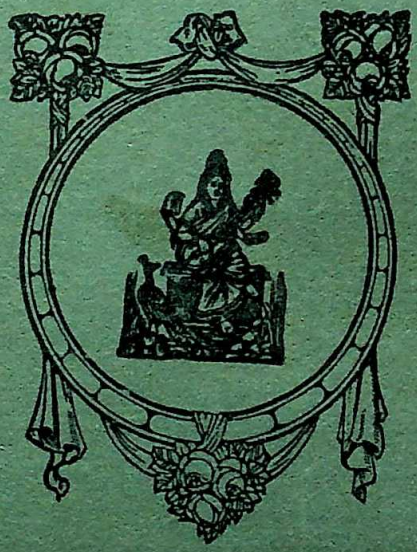

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FIG. 1—SCULPTURED STELA FROM TAKUA-PA.

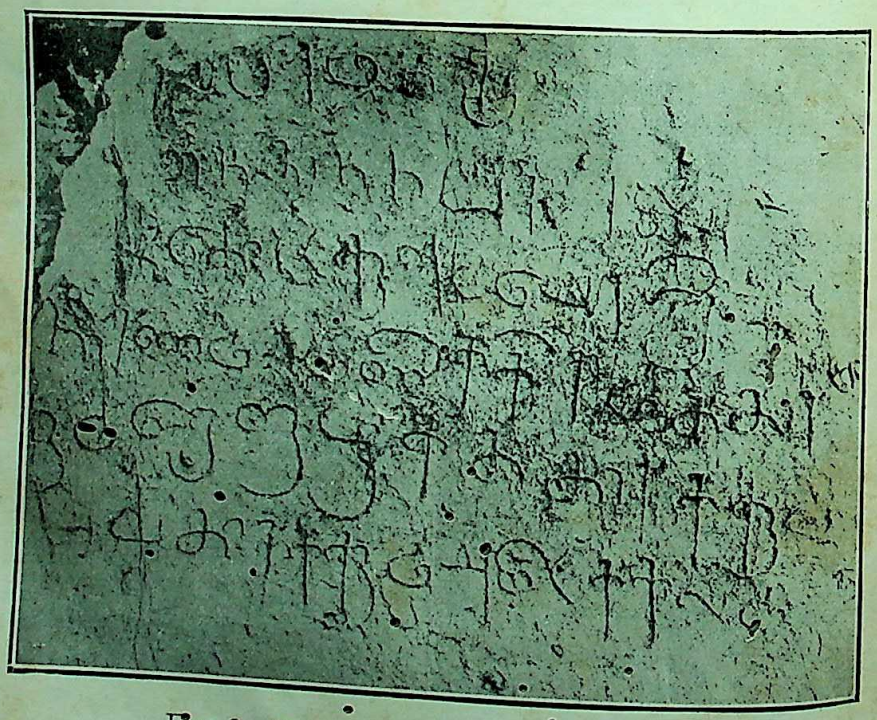

FIG. 2—TAKUA-PA TAMIL INSCRIPTION.

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THE TAKUA-PA (SIAM) TAMIL INSCRIPTION

BY

K. A. NILAKANHTA SASTRI, M. A.

Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras.

Discovery and First Report. In 1902, Mr. H. W. Bourke, an engineer of the Royal Siamese Department of Mines, reported to Col. Gerini his discovery in the Takau-pa district (Siam) of some important remains near the upper reaches of the river Takau-pa, remains which marked the site of the old Takau-pa town and which included the inscribed stela that forms the subject of this paper. Mr. Bourke also made a carefully executed squeezing of the inscription and forwarded it to the Colonel. He could not make out the contents of the record, and thought that the language of the inscription might be Sanskrit. But he realised its importance, and saw that it gave evidence of the existence in that neighbourhood of an ancient Indian settlement. "It forms, moreover," he said "a hitherto missing link in the chain of petroglyphic evidence connecting the lower provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with those adjoining the Krah Isthmus, and proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies." Citing the expert opinion of Mr. Warington Smyth on the possibilities of Takaua-pa as a harbour, Col. Gerini stated: "There can thus be no doubt that Takua-pa was in the early centuries of the Christian era a well-known harbour and trading centre often resorted to by ships coasting along the Golden Khersonese." All this evidence went to confirm Gerini's identification of Takua-pa with Ptolemy's Takōla and with the Takkōla of the *Milinda Pañha*.[1]

Detailed archaeological description. In 1909, Commandant L. de Lajonquiere gave a detailed report of his survey of Siamese Antiquities undertaken in the two preceding years. He divided Siamese Ancient Monuments into three groups: Indo-Cambodgian, Hindu (non-Cambodgian) and Thai (prior to the foundation of Ayuthia). He included the antiquities of Takua-pa in the

1. J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 242-7.

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second group,[1] and I give a translation of the part of his account that concerns us:

"Still further north (of Province Wellesley), the mouth of the river of Takua-pa, descending from a country essentially rich in mines of tin, appears to have been a very important centre of Hindu colonisation. The mining shafts dug at this epoch are clearly distinguished from modern works by a special technique, of such a kind that one cannot attribute them either to the Chinese who later established themselves in numbers on these coasts, or to the Europeans who in their turn came to establish counting-houses like those of Jungceylang.

"The mine shafts are not the only traces that the adventurers who preceded the Thai have left in these parts. They appear to have constructed in the isle of Thung Tunk (the plain of the monument) at least one edifice in bricks of which unfortunately there remain on the surface of the soil only traces too vague for us to draw any sure inference. . . . .

"Farther still, in the interior, upstream from the market of Takua-pa, other sculptures are deposited on the bank of the river, under the first trees of the forest, opposite a hill which dominates the left bank and which they call by the name of Khao Phra Narai, 'the mountain of Viṣṇu.' There is a large stela of schistose limestone on which have been sculptured, in high relief, three personages of natural size (*see* figure 1). The stela is broken; the tree against which the three fragments have been supported has grown, and the bark of the trunk has spread itself into a padding on some parts actually covered by it. The principal personage appears to be again Śiva between two feminine divinities or celestial *danseuses*. The costumes, in numerous folds treated with details, the profusion of jewels, the elegant movements of the body, recall very nearly the oldest sculptures of Dravidian India. By the side, a stela carries an inscription in six lines, in archaic characters, which has not yet been translated. Sculptures and inscriptions have been found on the hillock which dominates the opposite bank, but I have been able to recognise only very vague traces of the foundations of a sanctuary, of which the dimensions are far from corresponding to the proportions of the sculptured stela."

1. BCAIC 1909, pp. 234-6.

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The same writer once more described the site of our inscription in the following terms:[1] "In an ancient bed of the river of Takua-pa, near a Buddhist convent named Wat Na Mu'ang, was discovered a stela of sandstone, bearing an inscribed text. The writing is Indian and of an indisputable antiquity, but the document has not yet been deciphered."

In his *Essai D'Inventaire Archeologique Du Siam*, M. Lajonquire noticed the site at much greater length, and no apology is needed for reproducing his statements (in translation).[2]

"*Khao Phra Narai*—The mountain of Phra Narai is situated at the confluence of the Khlong Pong and the Khlong Ko Sok (propably Srok ?) which descend from the dorsal chain; their union a little more downstream with the Khlong Phra Va forms the river of Takua-pa. (This town, better known at present under the name of Talat Jai, the great market, is at two hours' journey downstream from the first of the two confluences.)

"This is a small hill conical in shape, 40 metres high and covered by forests. On the summit one finds only the debris of bricks and two large flat unwrought stones. These few vestiges appear to be all that remains of a small square sanctuary which measured three metres from side to side in the interior and opened to the East.

"On the opposite side of the Khlong Ko Sok, an ornate stela of three Brahmanical figures which came from this small shrine[3] is deposited on the bank. Local tradition says that it had been brought from there by the Burmans, during their last invasion, and deposited at the spot where it now is, to await its transport to Burma. But when they were about to proceed with this operation, there fell such violent rains that the spoliators were constrained to abandon it. It was since broken by the wild elephants which were for long the masters of this region devastated by wars. When the inhabitants returned, they found it in the present state and supported the debris against a tree. This tree with a trunk now twenty metres high, divided in two parts, has framed these debris in the development of its trunks, and the folds of the bark cover them in part. (BCAIC 1909, fig. 27).[4]

1. BCAIC 1910, p. 151.
2. BCAIC 1912, pp. 166-9.
3. This modifies the opinion expressed in 1909 that the dimensions of the stela and the temple do not agree.
4. This is our fig. 1.

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"It appears to have been cut in a large slab of schistose limestone, on which three figures came out in reliefs exceeding, at certain points, 90 centimetres in thickness.

"The most important, at the centre, represents Śiva standing. The head, (of which the cover has been removed) disappears under a fold of the bark; the feet are broken; they form one piece with a small plinth and tenon lying on the side of the tree. The bust is nude; collars made of gold adorn the neck; above (these) hangs a necklace of pearls increasing (in size) as it descends lower; a girdle of rectangular plaques of gold goes round the chest above the breasts; a thick ribbon woven of many rows of pearls is attached by a wrought buckle on the left shoulder and falls on the right hip; a girdle with a large wrought buckle holds round the edge a long *sarong* with many folds; along the thighs fall the folds of embroidered cloth and cordons from which hang button-like ornaments. The god is represented with four arms; we see only right front and the left front arms; the right posterior arm is only indicated by the lines of its fracture. The fore-arm of the right front arm is raised, the wrist is adorned by three bracelets; the hand, open and raised, is adorned with rings for the little and ring fingers, the thumb appears to hold a cord, which, passing above the right shoulder, comes to attach itself to the thumb of the left front arm. The hand of this arm is supported on the hip; its wrist has three bracelets of which two are of pearls; a large wrought bracelet adorns the biceps.

"The figure which, on the stela common (to all of them), is placed to the right of the god is without doubt that of his wife Pārvatī. Probably the Goddess is represented as seated, but the lower part of the body is missing, or is masked by the ligneous developments of the trunk which form a natural niche round the bust. The head is dressed in the form of a high cylindrical chignon formed of tresses gathered up in front and held in position by golden ornaments; a golden crown with two large earlaps sustain this edifice of hair. The countenance is round, the eyes lightly turned up, the nose is broken, the mouth with a thick lower lip is well designed; the bust is nude, a large necklace of pearls hangs on the chest between the well marked breasts; a cordon passed over the left shoulder falls above the right hip; the right arm encircled by pearls at the level of the biceps is lowered and covered largely by the bark; the left arm is

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raised, the hand supporting the head-dress; we can only see the upper part of the *sarong* and the knot of the belt.

"The figure to the right represents a *danseuse*; resting on the left knee with the left hand on the hip, she stretches towards the god her right arm which is broken; her head, inclined to the right, is dressed as a high conical chignon held in position by a crown of gold; the face is round, with eyes half-closed with the very curved and slightly upturned eyebrows; the nose, the mouth with thick lips, the accentuated chin, are of a pretty design; a necklace hangs on the chest; a cordon passed over the left shoulder hangs between her two well-developed breasts; the bust is nude, the waist supple and elegant; the left arm is adorned at the biceps by a bracelet worked in a rosaceous pattern, and at the wrist by three bangles; the pelvis and the legs are very tightly draped in a long *sarong* which descends in multiple folds; the feet with anklets of metal are nude.

"These three figures of natural size are very superior as sculpture to what we have so far found in Indo-China.

"*Inscription of Takua-pa*—An inscription was found on the Khao Phra Narai at the same time as the stela of which we have just spoken. Transported at first to the Vat Vieng which is near, then to the Vat Na Muang which is in the environs of Talat Jai, it has been replaced, on the demand of the inhabitants of the Canton, by the side of the three statues.

"It is an unwrought slate-coloured slab, polished only by the flow of water. On the surface so obtained has been engraved an inscription of six lines, in cursive characters carelessly traced which seem nevertheless to be very legible. (IV or V century)".

Studies of the Inscription. In 1913 Hultzsch published[1] a tentative study of the inscription from the impression sent to Gerini by Bourke and 'a photograph of the back of the impression' supplied by Finot, published by Hultzsch and now republished with this article (fig. 2). Next year, the same scholar gave a much more satisfactory interpretation with a fresh reading.[2] Lastly, T. A. Gopinatha Rao made another attempt to interpret this brief but very interesting and in some ways enigmatic record in the course of a discussion on the *manigrāmam*.[3]

1. JRAS 1913, pp. 337 ff.
2. JRAS 1914, pp. 397 ff.
3. E. I, XVIII, pp. 71-2.

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It seems to me that the full import of parts of the inscription has not been brought out in any of these discussions, and that there is some uncertainty still hanging round some of the readings proposed by Hultzsch. This is my reason for attempting this fresh study, besides the desire to bring together in one place all the chief archaeological notices of the inscription and the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The interpretation of the sculptures. It will be seen that Lajonquiere is inclined to identify the three sculptured figures as Śiva between two feminine divinities, or, on a second view, with Pārvatī to his right and a *danseuse* to his left. We are not aware that Śiva is ever thus represented between two feminine forms. Unfortunately, we get no clue from the face of the god, which is invisible and which may be expected to carry a third frontal eye on the forehead, or from any emblems of the god or the attendant females. The only guiding factor is the presence of the inscription which, though it is engraved on a separate slab, seems still to be closely connected with the sculptures and has the same provenance as the sculptured slabs themselves. The inscription clearly bears the name Nāraṇam of a tank the digging of which is recorded in it. This factor, and the name of the hill from which they come, the mountain of Viṣṇu, would lead one naturally to expect that the sculptures represent Viṣṇu and his two consorts—Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. The exquisite ornamentation of all the figures, and the absence of any Śaiva symbols whatsoever—it must be admitted that there are not any Vaiṣṇava symbols either—may lend support to this suggestion. From the sketch before us, we see that the female figure to the left of the god, Bhūdevī, is clearly seated, though the posture of the figure on the right, Śrīdevī, is rendered doubtful by its lower portion being overspread by the bark of the tree. And it is also a matter for consideration whether these goddesses can be represented as seated in the presence of a standing figure of Viṣṇu.

The inscription. I now proceed to give my reading of the inscription noting and explaining my differences from Hultzsch's second reading of the record published in 1914 :

1. . . [ra]varman ku[ṇā*]
2. . . mān tān naṅg[ū*]r[ṟ*]ḍai[ẏā*]
3. n toṭṭa kuḷam pēr śrī [Avani*]
4. nāraṇam maṇikkirāmattār[k*]
5. kum senāmukattārkkum
6. . patār-ḳkum aḍaikkalam.

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Speaking generally, the considerations on which Hultzsch fixed the date of this inscription in the eighth or the ninth century A. D.[1] are perfectly valid, as a comparison of the letters *ṭ*, *ṇa* and *ṇa* in this inscription with the same letters in the Pallava Tamil records of the period mentioned will easily show; the sign for the medial *ā* being joined to the preceding consonant, and the use of the short vertical stroke on the top of a letter for marking the *virāma* are also unmistakable signs of the antiquity of our record. To take one by one the points of doubtful reading in it:

Line 1.—The first letter may be a grantha *ra* with the upper half mutilated, if we neglect the small stroke to the left of the letter proceeding from its base. The letter before *ku* was at first read by Hultzsch as *t*, and later as *n* with the *virāma*. If it is a *n* with *virāma*, the vertical stroke of the main letter is missing, as may be seen by comparing it with *n* with a *virāma* occurring twice in the next line. The letter may be a *ta* and Gopinatha Rao prefers this reading. The word *madaku*, a sluice, suggests itself, if we put aside the associations in our mind arising out of a constant study of late Pallava and early Cōḷa Tamil records. But this line and the beginning of the next are so fragmentary that one can hardly be sure of one's ground in interpreting their purport. Hultzsch recognises the traces of a *ṇa* after *ku*, whereas Gopinatha Rao reads it as *ya* to bring it into line with the Tamil inscriptions of South India which invariably give the *yāṇḍu*, regnal year, after the king's name. The letter is very indistinct, and I am more inclined to agree with Hultzsch.

Line 2.—I read *Naṅg*[*ū*]*r*[*u*]*ḍai*[*yā*] for Hultzsch's *Naṅgū-ra*[*ḍ*]*ai*. The sign of the medial vowel in *kū* and *ru* is by no means distinct, the less so in the latter case than in the former. Comparing however the *ḍai* of 1. 6 in *aḍaikkalam* with the blurred letters following *naṅgūru* in this line, it is possible to make out a part of *yā* following a not very well formed *ḍai*; and this naturally suggests my reading. Whether the phrase is to be completed by the initial *n* of the next line, or some letters are missing at this point, is not easy to decide. I am inclined to the former alternative.

Line 3.—Hultzsch says: "After *śrī* (in this line) there are traces of a Grantha *a* and of a *va*: I feel tempted to supply the

1. JRAS 1913, pp. 337-8.

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word *avani*." Risky as this statement appears, it is possible that the ink-impression he was using gave him a more satisfactory clue to this suggestion than the present photograph seems to do. I am inclined to accept it as it fits in very well with the historical probabilities of the case, as will presently become clear.

Line 6.—The first legible letter in this line is doubtless *pa*. I am unable to accept the conjecture of Hultzsch—'*mulu*'. Gopinatha Rao's reading [*ku*] *la* [*t**] *tārkkum* seems to me even less defensible. In fact, neither of these readings is an improvement on the original reading of Hultzsch [*chāpa*] [*t**] *tārkkum*.

The purport of the inscription : Omitting the uncertain portions, the inscription may be rendered thus : "The tank called Avani-nāraṇam dug by the Lord of Naṅgūr (is placed under) the protection of the members of the Maṇigrāmam, the residents of the military camp and . . . "

Hultzsch observed : "The builder of the tank, whose first name ended in *ravarman* (perhaps Bhāskaravarman?) evidently was a person of royal descent, and '[Avani] Nārāyaṇa', 'a Viṣṇu on earth," was a surname of his, after which he called the tank dug by himself". I have shown above how the lacunæ and the difficulties in first line and the beginning of the second render them very insecure as a basis for any historical deductions. And Gopinatha Rao is possibly right when he observes : "Dr. Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarman* in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Maṇigrāmattār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Ravivarman."

Now, Avani-nārāyaṇa, is well-known as the surname of the Pallava king Nandi-varman III, the period of whose rule may be taken to be 826-850 A. D. The village Kāverippākkam was called Avaṇi-nārāyaṇa-caturvēdimaṅgalam evidently after him,[1] and the anonymous, but possibly contemporary work, *Nandikkalambakam* repeatedly applies the name Avani-nārāyaṇa[2] to Nandivarman III, the hero of the poem. This name occurs in the form *avani-nāraṇaṉ*, recalling the name *avani-nāraṇam* of the tank mentioned in our inscription, thrice[3] in the *Kalambakam*

1. 391 of 1905, 394 of 1905 etc.
2. See verse 3 in the opening and verses 18 22, 64, and 66.
3. vv. 18, 22, 66.

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while in the remaining instances we have the more regular form *avani-nārāyaṇan*.

Nandivarman, it is interesting to observe, is also described as the master of a navy. He is called : *āṭkulāṅ-gaḍaṟ-paḍai-yavaṉi-nāraṇan*,[1] *i.e.*, Avani-nāraṇa with the crowded naval force. The expression is indeed capable of being interpreted otherwise into : "Avani-nāraṇa with the crowded ocean-like army;" and excellent analogies for this interpretation may be found in the phrases : "*vilvēlik-kaḍaṟṟāṉai*", 'the ocean-like army surrounded by bows,' of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant ; and "*vēṟkaḍaṟ-paḍai-vēndar*"[2] *i.e.*, "the kings with ocean-like armies (armed with) javelins," of the *Nandikkalambakam* itself. But there can be no manner of doubt attaching to the meaning of another phrase applied to Nandi III in the *Kalambakam*[3], viz., *nuraiveṇṭirai-nāṟkaḍaṟ-koru-nāyakaṉ*, 'the unrivalled lord of the four seas with white foaming waves.' In the light of this description of the king, the interpretation we have put on the phrase "*āṭkulāṅgaḍaṟpaḍai*" seems to be at least as natural, if not more so, as the alternative interpretation suggested.

The mention in the *Kalambakam* of the navy (*kaḍaṟpaḍai*) of Nandivarman III is quite in keeping with the presence of the *Maṇigrāmam* on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in the Malaya peninsula, as attested by our inscription. The navy need not necessarily have been a fighting navy in the modern sense of the term ; the expression used may be interpreted as a loose reference to the flourishing state of the mercantile marine of the country.

The *Maṇigrāmam* is well-known as a powerful mercantile corporation mentioned in several inscriptions in South India, and apparently in the enjoyment of continued prosperity for a period of several generations. There were other corporations of a more or less similar nature, like the Añjuvaṇṇam, Vaḷañjiyar, Nānādesi or Tiśai-yāryirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar who are also known to have had a share in the overseas trade of Southern India, and who appear to have maintained bands of armed mercenaries for the protection of their interests.[4] These merchant-guilds enjoyed extra-

1. v. 18.
2. v. 26.
3. *ibid.*
4. See my paper on '*A Tamil Merchant guild in Sumatra*' in the Tidschrift Voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde Vol. 72 (1932), Pt. ii.

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territorial rights and were more or less autonomous self-regulating bodies. It is possible that the *Senāmukham* of our inscription mentioned next to the members of the *Maṇigrāmam* was an armed camp of soldiers maintained for their protection by the colony of South Indian merchants settled there. Though the *Mayamata* and the *Kāmikāgama* agree in defining *Senāmukhal* as a well-guarded place including the king's palace and residences of members of all castes, we shall not be wrong in assuming that in the present context the term is more loosely used to mean the residential quarters of the soldiers employed by the *Maṇigrāmam* of Takua-pa.

The Viṣṇu temple on the top of the hill must have been built for the use of the Tamil settlers in Takua-pa. From the description of the statues by Lajonquiere and their close resemblances with Pallava sculptures in many details, we may infer that the work was done by artisans from South India employed by these Tamil settlers. Neither the presence of Tamil settlers in such numbers as to require a permanent temple for their worship, nor even the presence of Tamil soldiers, can justify the inference that the Tamils were in the enjoyment of any political power in this region. The celebrated Cūḍāmaṇivarma Vihāra was built in Negapatam in the heyday of Cōḷa ascendancy by the kings of Śrī Vijaya (Sumatra) for the benefit of their citizens settled in the South Indian emporium for purposes of trade, and neither the construction of the Vihāra nor the presence of Sumatrans in Negapatam meant any detraction from the sovereignty of the Cōḷa power. Likewise the Tamil settlers in Takua-pa must be taken to have enjoyed their possessions in this region by the sufferance of the local powers.

The condition of the foreign trade of South India in the days of Nandivaram III is casually attested by the inscriptions of his reign. An inscription from Kāñcīpuram[2] dated in his eighteenth year grants a licence to the people of Kudiraiccēri, (possibly the same as modern Kudiraippallam in the Ponnēri Taluq of the Chingleput district), enabling them to sell in their shops all articles beginning with camphor and ending with sandals :

1. EI, XVIII, p. 72 quotations by Gopinatha Rao.
2. I owe this reference to Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., research scholar in the University Department of Indian History.

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Kudiraiccēriyār-kkaṟpūram talaiyāṅga-cceruppu-kkaḍaiyāṅga ellā vyāpāramum kaḍai ēri vāṇigañjeyya-ppeṟuvadāga-ppaṇittōm.

This mention of camphor is particularly interesting as affording further confirmation of what is suggested by the Takua-pa inscription, *viz.*, the growth and persistence of an active commercial contact between the kingdoms of Southern India and those of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Camphor from Malaya and Sumatra was an important article that entered into the commerce of the Indian ocean and that is mentioned by Arab writers from the ninth century onwards under the name Fansuri, from Fansur the name of a Sumatran kingdom noted by Marco Polo as the home of the best camphor in the world.[1]

It is found thus that the various lines of evidence fit into one another very easily and naturally, and the Takua-pa Tamil inscription just furnishes a peep into an aspect, long since forgotten, of the economic relations of South India with the outside world in the ninth century A. D. The evidence from the contemporary inscriptions of Nandivarman's reign and from the literature of his time also goes to confirm the indications furnished by this isolated Tamil record in a foreign land. Just as the Lobœ Tœwa Tamil fragment from Sumatra dated in Śaka 1010 forms a unique piece of evidence of the maritime pursuits of the Tamils in the age of the Great Cōḷas, so also the Takua-pa inscription deserves to be recognised as equally valuable evidence attesting similarly the maritime trade relations of the late Pallava period, about two centuries earlier than the date of the Sumatran record.

A word on the author of the tank in Takua-pa before we close. If my reading is accepted, it will be seen that he calls himself 'Naṅgūruḍaiyān', Lord of Naṅgūr. Hultzsch read the phrase as: '*Naṅgūr-adai . . . loṭṭa*", translated it into; "which was dug near Naṅgūr", and added: "Naṅgūr seems to have been the Tamil name of the old Hindu settlement, the existence of which has been proved by Gerini". The Indian settlers in the Eastern countries are known often to have carried with them many Sanskritic place-names of legendary fame, but we have not so far come across any other instance of such a definitely Tamil name as Naṅgūr, with the common *ūr* ending in these lands. However that may be, I am tempted to suggest that the Naṅgūruḍaiyān of our inscription was a native of South India, and

1. Yule and Cordier ii, 299 and notes.

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was so called because he was born in or held a fief in Nāṅgūr. This place is celebrated in Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār's hymns as the cradle of heroes who distinguished themselves, apparently, in the wars of the Pallava monarchs whose sway extended over the Tanjore district and whose feudatories the Nāṅgūr chiefs must have been.[1] It is also known that Naccinārkkiniyar notes that early Cōḷa king Karikāla married a daughter of the Nāṅgūr chiefs (Vēḷir). Nāṅgūr may well be written as Naṅgūr in epigraphs, and there is nothing improbable in our assuming that in an age when people were living up to the active Tamil ideal of crossing the oceans, if need be, in search of wealth, *tirai-kaḍal-ōḍiyun-tiraviyam-tēḍu*,—a prominent noble from Nāṅgūr went over to Takua-pa and became the author of some charitable works in that locality. The name he gave to the tank was reminiscent of the political allegiance he owed to Nandivarman III.

1. *Periya Tirumoḷi* IV 1, 2; 5, 6; 6, 2; 7, 1.

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VĀCASPATI'S CRITICISM OF SPHOṬA-VĀDA.

BY

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Even apart from the unsavoury and uncharitable criticism of Vācaspati by the Prakaṭārthakāra, it is abundantly evident from a study of Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*[1] that whatever is distinctive in Vācaspati's Advaita teaching is inherited by him from Maṇḍana.[2] In the circumstances, one may not unreasonably expect Vācaspati to support Maṇḍana's Sphoṭa-vāda as well, especially since according to the latter the exposition of that doctrine is in conformity with and an aid to the comprehension of Advaita.[3] But strangely enough, Vācaspati restates the doctrine in the words of Maṇḍana and criticises it both in an independent work, the *Tattvabindu* and in the course of the Devatādhikaraṇa of the *Bhāmatī*.[4] The former is referred to in the latter; the criticism is fuller and a little more trenchant in the former, while perhaps a shade more respect is shown in the latter by the mode of reference to the propounder of the theory as ācāryadeśīyaḥ. The substance of the criticism is about the same in both.

It will be remembered that the advocate of the Sphoṭa-vāda alleges the existence of the word or sentence as a single integral

1. To be published shortly by the Government of Madras, under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar.

2. Prominent among the points of resemblance are the doctrine of Nescience as located in the Jīva, not Brahman, and the rejection of of verbal testimony as of itself a cause of immediate knowledge. Instances of what one would in these days call verbal plagiarism are abundant; but in the days of palm leaves and oral instruction, such repetition should have been regarded more as a compliment than otherwise.

3. *See* Verse 36 of the *Sphoṭasiddhi* (p. 261, University of Madras edition) and the last three lines of the commentary thereon.

4. *Vedānta-Sūtra*, I, iii, 28.

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whole, because meaning cannot intelligibly be comprehended otherwise. Our understanding of the sense, we say, comes from the word (or the sentence). If we treat the word not as a unit but as a composite of the letters (of which one imagines it to be formed) then each letter by itself cannot manifest the sense, while a combination of the letters in cognition is impossible, for each such cognition perishes momentarily and there cannot be a combination of what exists, what has ceased to exist and what has not come into existence. If it be said that the letters may combine, not their cognitions, this is irrelevant ; the letters being eternal and pervasive are always in combination and cannot explain the cognition of different words by different persons at different times ; if the dogma of the eternality of letters be not subscribed to, the position is worse. The impressions or memory images of the letters may be invoked to explain the apprehension of meaning ; but memory-images such as we ordinarily postulate can but recall their own causes ; they cannot cause something new, a single composite memory of the whole word, much less the meaning of the word. It may be thought that the final cognition is of the nature of a single memory to the production of which the other memory-images contribute, that in this memory all the letters constituting a word are repeated together as it were and that from the letters thus cognised in combination there is apprehension of meaning. Apart from the difficulty already indicated that such a capacity is different from that already postulated for memory, that memory itself is a capacity of the self and the postulation of another capacity in respect of a capacity will lead to infinite regress, there is the further trouble that in the final single memory image, all the letters are reflected together and not in sequence, while it is clear that cognition depends on the pronunciation of letters in a particular sequence. If the memory image theory were true, meaning should be apprehended even from letters pronounced without sequence (say by a number of people shouting each one letter simultaneously) or in a reverse sequence ; 'tip' and 'pit' should have the same meaning. It seems, therefore, necessary to recognise meaning as something *sui generis*. It is not produced, but revealed by what we call successive elements of a word or sentence. As the student of Western Logic would say, while the verbal expression of judgment which is called the proposition may be said to be compounded of subject, predicate and copula

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the judgment itself is a unity which is *revealed* in their elements; the judgment is not *produced* by other units; it is itself the unit of thought. In the same way, meaning which is manifested, sphoṭa as the grammarians and Maṇḍana Miśra call it, is a unit increasingly revealed by particular sounds uttered in certain sequences. The succeeding sounds make more clear what was less clearly expressed by the preceding sounds; the latter provides the substructure, the former the super-structure, while all of them together reveal the one design, which while prompting their utterance is certainly not produced by them. The knowledge thus revealed being perceptual, does certainly admit of degrees of clarity unlike other forms of knowledge. Neither sound nor sequence is futile, for while the sound is the tool of manifestation, the sequence provides the form thereof. The individual cognitions of letters are parts, as it were, of the inspiring whole which is really partless. They correspond to the numerous reflections of the one face, as if possessing diverse colours and configurations. Sometimes meaning-units which are really different appear to be revealed by the same sounds, *e.g.*, in the case of ambiguous words and sentences; this is conditioned by similarity of the place and effort required for the utterance of the requisite sounds. Nor is there any difficulty about what is of the nature of a reflection and so far illusory subserving the comprehension of truth. Our initial cognition of many things is erroneous and yet it is on the basis of these that we make further strides in our knowledge; many a false hypothesis has led to the extension of scientific knowledge; even in the case of an apparently mechanical whole like an arithmetical figure, the lower, partial, defective and so far erroneous figures are means to the apprehension of the higher true figure.

The reader will not fail to note the marked resemblance of sphoṭa thus explained to the Advaitin's Brahman. Brahman is not compounded of the appearances. It is certainly revealed in appearances, partially. Not all appearances are of equal value in this task of manifestation, nor do they all come at the same time for all. If everything that is known or is done is ultimately for Brahman-knowledge, it is yet true that the acting or the knowing has to come in well-marked stages corresponding to the eligibility and perfection of the individual. All appearances are defective and illusory, yet they all in different ways more or less perfect are instrumental to Brahman-realisation. Brahman is not

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attained by any act just as meaning is not produced by any combination. Again, as Brahman is neither known in the world nor yet unknown, the sphoṭa is neither revealed nor yet unrevealed ; Brahman is known, as otherwise there would be no desire to know, Brahman is also unknown, hence the desire to know. Sphoṭa is revealed, hence the possibility of making it clearer; sphoṭa is unrevealed, else it would not need to be made clearer.

The position of the sphoṭa-vādin and his opponent may be made clearer by comparison with the Associationist and Gestalt Schools of Psychology. The Associationist is all for the recognition of particular elements out of which wholes are compounded by some mysterious laws of association ; while the Gestalt School recognising the futility of compounding which can result at best in an aggregate, not a unit, insists on the presence of a plan, form or configuration from the first. The Associationist cannot explain how a five-rupee note comes to *mean* five rupees; for he wants to see and cannot see five rupees wrapped up in it.[1] The psychology of parts and elements is a static psychology which ignores and consequently fails to comprehend the dynamic aspect of life. No one reflecting on purposive activity, for instance, would fail to realise the existence of something revealed and yet unrevealed, realised, yet unrealised, an organised whole on which

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1. Cf. the following from Woodworth, *Contemporary Schools of Psychology* ; " ..... the job of psychology is first to analyse these complex processes into their elements, and then to study how the elements are combined and the laws of their combination. First identify the elements, and then work up to larger and larger compounds. The Gestalt Psychologists called this a brick and mortar psychology, with emphasis on the brick, because the trouble was to find the mortar. The mortar problem had been a serious one for the associationists " (p. 101) . . . " A form quality is a property possessed by a whole which is not possessed by any of the parts making up the whole. A melody, for example, is made up of the notes of the scale, but is not present in these notes taken singly but only when they are arranged in a certain sequence or pattern " (p. 102) . . . " A mere sum, or pure sum, is one in which each item is independent of the others and simply counts for one in making up the sum. In arithmetic we have pure sums, [Maṇḍana may not admit even this] but they are abstract. In the concrete, it is not so easy to be sure that an aggregate really consists of independent items " (p. 105) . . . " The Gestalt Psychologists hold that the total process controls the brain response to the separate items of stimulation " (p. 112).

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the parts depend, which is yet increasingly realised through the parts. Our individual acts do not *make* the purpose; they are caused, rather, by the purpose revealed in them.[1] The Gestalt Psychologist shows the need for recognising this whole as a unit in his account even of perception. The perception of motion cannot be explained on the basis of the perception of the facts that move or the various stages occupied in the motion. In a motion picture, we have but a series of static pictures of various parts in various stages, yet we *see* the motion of the parts. Dynamic psychology no less than absolutist metaphysics would thus seem to support sphoṭa-vāda. It remains to see on what grounds Vācaspati rejects it.

"The particular sounds which manifest sphoṭa, are they", asks Vācaspati, "different from sphoṭa or non-different therefrom?" If non-different, then each sound would manifest the meaning[2] and the remaining sounds would be futile. If different, why the association of these sounds with the manifestation of that? Verily, the cognition of the cow is not coloured by the cognition of the pig! Such a question has little application to Maṇḍana's doctrine. To him indeed sphoṭa is non-different from the sounds, as a whole from its parts; and yet it is different too, since the whole is neither each part nor a mere aggregate of the parts. The existence and functioning of such wholes can be denied only by defective psychology.

But any such theory discredits the reality of the parts, as partial and defective; they are treated as illusory; they are put on a par with the illusory manifold reflections of a single face in different media. Where is the justification for discrediting the reality of that whose cognition is unsublated? We do undoubtedly cognise individual letters. Why should we treat these cognitions as illusory? The obvious reply is that not the exis-

1. The very first sentence of the *Bhāmatī* premises the purposiveness of all activity and yet it is a pity that Vācaspati shows no true grasp of the psychology or metaphysics of purpose; the lapse is all the more lamentable when he had the benefit of such a shining light as Maṇḍana.

2. Sphoṭa, here rendered as meaning, is really the cause of the ascertainment of meaning (arthā-'vasāya-prasvanimittam); but in the last resort this cause is the meaning itself: hence the rendering adopted here, since it has the merit of being more familiar and more suggestive to students of Western Psychology.

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tence of these cognitions but their significance is in question, just as in the case of the reflection. The reflection exists without doubt, but it is not real. The cognition of the letter exists without doubt, but it is not real. And sublation in this case consists not in that presentation ceasing to be or giving place to another presentation, but in that presentation *as such* failing to fulfil what is expected of it. If each cognition as an independent part could by combination with other such parts explain the whole, then it would be unsublated; since, however, it fails of its purpose, since it seems to fit in more naturally with a theory which treats it not as producer but as manifester, it is in so far forth sublated. The reflection is sublated not as a reflection, but as the face; the letter-cognition is sublated not as letter-cognition but as an independent productive constituent of meaning. The sublation is by no means apparent on the surface and reveals itself only on analysis. But so is it with all the major issues of Advaita, bondage, difference, finitude. All these impinge on the empirical consciousness with the apparent weight of reality and are sublated only by philosophical analysis. And philosophical analysis, as has been shown brilliantly by Maṇḍana, reveals non-difference to be real, difference being super-imposed thereon because of some extraneous adjunct.[1]

And here we come across a statement, extremely surprising in an Advaitin, that it is non-difference which is imposed because of some adjunct, on the differents. Instances given are army, forest etc. Such terms are empirical designations for aggregates of units such as elephants, horsemen, infantry, chariots and so on or teak, ebony, bamboo and so on. "Nor with this does the army or forest come to be known as a single whole with the elephant etc., or campaka etc., as parts."[2] There is nothing to prevent the application of the same reasoning even to concepts like tree, to all universals in fact, with the startling conclusion that this absolutist metaphysician is also a rank nominalist. The question is insistent "Why should the Advaitin reverse his normal procedure here alone? Why should he treat difference as real and non-difference as super-imposed, while the very opposite holds good for him as an ultimate metaphysical conclusion?" A likely reply is that the reality of Brahman does not annul the

1. See the *Brahmasiddhi*, Chapter II. Part of the argument is re-stated briefly, almost in Maṇḍana's words, in the *Bhāmatī* on I, i, 4.
2. *Tattvabindu*, p. 11.

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empirical reality of phenomena, and that what seems so startling in Vācaspati is but the expression of an intelligible and legitimate desire "to preserve appearances." The different statements are both true; their apparent contradiction is to be resolved by distinguishing their contents (*viṣaya-vyavasthā*). Such a reply, however, is far from satisfactory; for, distinction of content is possible as between enquiries on a par,[1] not as between a higher and a lower. The principles that determine final truth cannot be different from, much less opposed to, those which determine truth in a particular field. Much less is the possibility of contradiction when the two enquiries have almost the same sphere. The knowledge of the Word cannot run counter to the knowledge of the Real; for, is not all speech contained in the Oṁkāra, and has it not been said that *Om*, the imperishable, is all this, the past, the present and the future, as also what transcends all three times?[2] A distinction of the kind mentioned tends to divorce Science from Philosophy and stultify both. If the Real is the one, imperishable, partless whole manifested in varying degrees in the world of appearances, this truth should be found to apply not in Metaphysics alone, but in the spheres of the other Sciences as well, so far as the limitations of their inquiry will allow. And the Science of the Word is no exception.

Starting with the premise that the unity of the word or sentence is due to an extraneous adjunct, Vācaspati proceeds to define this adjunct as "being the content of a single cognition (*eka-vijñāna-viṣayatā*)" or "being the cause of the cognition of a single thing denoted (*ekā-'bhidheya-pratyaya-hetutā*)." A natural objection would be that the external adjunct would not condition unless it be itself cognised, and that the cognition of such an adjunct depends on the cognition of the word as single, reciprocal dependence being thus involved. This consequence, however, Vācaspati denies; "for, the knowledge of the relation (of sound to sense) is not dependent on the determination of the word; rather is the cognition of the word dependent on the former."[3] Dependence being thus one-sided, there can be no question of reciprocal dependence. But, we may ask, how is there the knowledge of the relation? When we say that the relation of sound to sense is known, do we not mean the relation of

1. *E.g.* in the case of Astronomy and Biology.
2. *Māṇḍūkya*, I.
3. *Tattvabindu*, p. 12.

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a word to what it signifies? And can this be cognised without the word being cognised *as a word*? Apparently it can be, according to Vācaspati, who says that relation to sense is understood in the case of those letters which enter into a single memory-cognition. But this takes us nowhere, for we are against the old difficulty in another form: What is a single memory-cognition? Is the unity of the memory determined by its momentariness? If so, is this momentary cognition capable of comprehending a plurality of letters within itself? If not by its duration, then, by what other principle is the unity determined? If I recall "Cow horse" in my memory, is my cognition single or dual? So long as it is recalled by me without involving any recognisable double effort, should we not treat it as one? Shall we be justified then in treating what is cognised as one word? It is true that there may be really a multiplicity of efforts though unrecognised. But on what ground are we to infer this unrecognised multiplicity? By what causes again are we to explain the need for the multiplicity? Is there in the last resort any explanation other than the unity of the word? Are we not forced to say albeit against our will that the memory is single because it is of a single word? And with this we are led back to reciprocal dependence. The logical difficulty is fundamental and to meet it we have but alleged psychological facts couched in stilted if cautious double negatives.[1] When *A* pronounces a word, we are told, and *B* is seen to react, the looker-on *C* has a single memory comprehending the letters pronounced by *A*, as related to *B*'s reaction. From *B*'s reaction he infers apprehension of meaning by him, which meaning *C* relates to the single memory he has; because of this relation to sense the letters comprehended in the memory are understood to be a word. The psychology here presented is unfortunately too simple to be true. Let us assume for the moment the general validity of this behaviouristic explanation of language-learning. Even then, what is it that *A* pronounces, a word or sentence? If it is a sentence, *i.e.*, a combination of words, then what is associated in *C*'s mind with *B*'s reaction and the inferred cognition of sense is this combination, not a single word. How does *C* learn to discriminate the various words thereof? It may be said that the words are distinguished by their occurrence in different contexts in conjunction with other different words, that what is instrumental is a process of

1. See the *Bhāmatī*, p. 330 (Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrin's edition).

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addition and subtraction (*āvāpa* and *udvāpa*). But for any such process of addition and subtraction words must first be apprehended as such. There is also the difficulty on the other side that if words are apprehended by discrimination from the wholes of which they are parts, the principle of the sentence as a single unit (*Vākya-sphoṭa*) is admitted and this is more than sufficient to content the sphoṭa-vādin. Let us then say that in the simple process mentioned, what *A* mentions is a word, not a sentence. How then can *B* re-act? The very least that *B* must do is to nod or show some other sign of comprehension, and this he can do not in respect of a bare word-sense but only in respect of that sense as related at least to the activity of being. When *B* nods on hearing the word "cow," he does so because he takes the word to mean "a cow exists" or "that is a cow," and this is the apprehension which is inferred by *C*. If, on the contrary, there were no such sense even by implication, *B* would not react in any way and *C* would have nothing to infer or infer from. Nor may it be said that *B*'s passivity is itself the ground of inference; for, the passivity may result from what is not a word or what is not apprehended as a word. *B* may not react to a man saying "Coo" either because he does not take it to be a word or because he does not know it is "Cow" pronounced in the North of England way. The behaviouristic explanation, then, if it is to explain at all, must treat the sentence as a unit; and that is to give away the associationist case. And if it stops short of that unit, the apprehension of the relation of word to sense should necessarily depend on the apprehension of the word as such. The Prābhākaras were consistent behaviourists, maintaining as they did that words are significant only as related to what is to be done. Maṇḍana improving on them insisted on the need for words being understood *in relation*, but not necessarily in relation to an act. Vācaspati, while not rejecting behaviourism outright, attempts to work it along with associationism, an exceedingly unfortunate procedure. The lead of Kumārila was less worth following than that of Maṇḍana Miśra.[1]

The psychology that sense is related to the letters entering into a single memory is defective in yet another way. If it be true that Cowness is associated with the three remembered letters

1. Kumārila's view that the sentence-sense follows by implication from the word-sense is not necessary for Vācaspati's system though adopted by him in the *Tattvabindu* and less explicitly in the *Bhāmatī*.

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'C, O, W,' that sense should not be recalled except when all the three letters are recalled. But not infrequently it happens that we have a valid cognition of cowness when the letters are defectively or incorrectly recalled. The printer may print 'Coe,' the speaker may pronounce "Coo", and yet we have a valid apprehension of cow. The process is even more marked where a letter or sound is omitted in writing or speaking.[1] This is explicable because in learning we do not pass from element to element, but apprehend the whole, filling up gaps wherever they occur. It is not the fact of recall that matters here, for that may be explained on the ground of association by similarity or partial identity; what does matter is that the sense recalled is the sense intended, not one that is similar or defective or erroneous.

The sphoṭa-vādin's difficulty about sequence in the single memory cognition is sought to be got over by Vācaspati. In the memory itself, he says, the letters have no sequences, being presented together; but memory follows experience and conforms to it; and the sequence in which the letters are experienced is repeated in memory. This would appear to be sound as far as it goes. The difficulty is that it does not go far enough. Letters, it is said, being eternal and pervasive, have no sequence belonging to them as such. What sequence there is is determined by something else? What is this something other if it is not the meaning or purpose of the speaker, listener or reader? The letters *t*, *i* and *p* are arranged in one way or the other, according to the meaning we purpose to express; in other words, the sequence varies with the word. Externally looked at, the letters in sequence constitute the word; for the psychologist, however, it is the word that determines the sequence. Is the word existent or non-existent prior to the letters apprehended in sequence? Empirically speaking, I may shelve the question by saying that though not present in my mind before I learn the sequence, it is present in the mind of another who instructs me; and thus, the process may be pushed back indefinitely, there being no authority for postulating the origin of language at any particular time. If, however, this empirical indeterminism does not content you and you press for metaphysical definiteness, it must be said that

1. The fact is not unknown to Advaitins. See for instance the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, p. 303, Ben. Edition. For the Gestalt view of learning as filling up gaps, see Woodworth, *op. cit*, pp. 116-117.

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the word both is and is not prior to the apprehension of sequence. It is real; otherwise it could not be manifested in the sequence; it is not existent, otherwise there would be no need for manifestation.[1] The solution of the problem is in a line with the solution of the problems of human knowledge and activity in general. Knowledge is of the novel and yet not of the non-existent. Activity realises a purpose which is real yet not actual. This paradox is common to all aspects of human nature, indeed to all appearance; the only solution would seem to lie in taking these to be partial and therefore defective and illusory appearances of the Real that is one and partless. And what applies to the Real applies to the Word, for Oṁkāra is all speech and "Om is Brahman, Om is all this,"[2] "Omkara alone is all this."[3]

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1. The paradox is made much of in the *Tattvabindu*, p. 10, where it is said that according to the sphoṭa-vāda, "the unreal helps the unreal."

2. *Taitt. Upa.*, I, 8.

3. *Chāndogya Upa.*, II, 23, 3. For an exposition of Brahman as akṣara in this sense, see the *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 17-19.

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THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

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VIII.

Neither the tales of Agastya nor those of Skanda contain anything which points to the original of the story of the Pandya seating himself on the throne of Indra and thereby annexing a half of that god's throne. This incident must have been taken from the ancient puranas in which we are told of Indra taking Arjuna to his realm[1] and installing him on his throne[2] and of Arjuna thereupon occupying a half of Indra's seat.[3] There can thus be little doubt but that the Sport of the bringing down of rains is indebted for what have come to be its characteristic features to the ancient cycle of legends which have gathered round Arjuna. This conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance that certain other features of the Sports as told in the Madurai Chronicles can be traced also to the same cycle: Arjuna fought with Indra and vanquished him;[4] he asked Indra to bestow on him the contents of his armoury,[5] learned of him the use of all the instruments of war and received from him the *vajra* and the lightnings which were among his favourite weapons.[6] In Indra's gift of weapons to Arjuna the authors of the tales that were gathered into the Madurai Chronicles must have found material enough to provide the Pandyas with resounding victories: they must have turned the gifts of Indra into the triple gift of the javelin, the discus and the club. The legends of Arjuna were an appropriate quarry

1. *M. B.* 3 (*Vana-*) ; 42 (*Indralōka-*) : 11-42; 43- 1: 32.
2. *Ib.* 43 : 20.
3. *Ib.* 47 : 2.
4. *Ib.* 1 (*Ādi-*) : 229 (*Khāṇḍava-*) : 12-, 230 ; 1-22.
5. *Ib.* 236 ; 9.
6. *Ib.* 3 (*Vana-*) ; 44 (*Indralōka-*) ; 3-4.

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from which to draw material for the exaltation of the Pandyas, that romantic hero being among the most eminent ancestors of that dynasty.

But, why should the Cōḷa and the Cēra have accompanied the Pandya on his visit to Indra ? The frame-work of the story stood ready to hand in the tales of Agastya and Arjuna,— the denial of rains, the drought, the threat to depose Indra, the ascent to his kingdom, the defeat of that god, the winning of a half of his throne, the gift of a golden garland and the bringing down of the much-needed rains. Where then, was the need for the introduction of the Cōḷa and the Cēra ?

The puranas tell of Māndhātā 'the foremost of earthly kings,' that, when of yore the gods celebrated a grand sacrifice in the region of Nāgapura, he defeated Indra,[1] that he erected many sacred piles and performed greatly pious deeds by which he obtained the privilege of sitting at Indra's side[2], and that when there was a drought of twelve years he caused rain to fall for the growth of crops, disregarding the wielder of thunder.[3] This account of Māndhātā too contains some of the very elements that are found in the tales of Agastya and Arjuna,— the failure of rains, the defeat of Indra, the seating oneself on a par with him, and the bringing down of copious rains despite him. The similarities in the tales must naturally have suggested it to the chronicler of the Sports that he should assimilate the story of Māndhātā as well. He could have done so by making that king too an ancestor of the Pandyas, but the Cōḷas had laid claim to be descended from Māndhātā, and it was a claim which could not be lightly brushed aside.[4] The chronicler had therefore to leave Māndhātā severely alone. But, when he abandoned the idea of bringing him into the geneology of the Pandyas, he was forced to face another difficulty,— that he had to admit that another dynasty of the Tamil country could lay claim to the very achievements on which the Pandyas plumed themselves. It was open to a protagonist of the Cōḷas to contend that achievements to which the Cōḷa line could lay just claim in

1. *MB.* 12 *Śānti-*: 355 *Mōkṣa-dharma-*: 2-3.
2. *Ib.* 3 *Vana-*; 136 *Tīrtha-*; 38 ; cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* ; 7 *Uttara-*; 80.
3. *MB.* 3 *Vana-*; 126 *Tīrtha-*; 42.
4. *See* the Leiden Grant. Also, Jayam-koṇḍān, *Kaliṅgattup-Parani*, 176.

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virtue of descent from Māndhātā had been unscrupulously pirated for the Pandyas. The only honest course open to the chronicler was to admit the claims of the Cōḷa and to assign to him in the legend a status equal to that of the Pandya. But, the chronicler could not do so without affecting the Pandya's primacy which the Sports were intended to support.

This difficulty was, however, got over by the chronicler by the device of 'confession and avoidance'. He admitted that to an ancestor of the Cōḷas too could be attributed certain achievements similar to those of an ancestor of the Pandyas, but he avoided the effect of that admission by alleging that to the Pandya went one better than to the Cōḷa. Introducing the Cōḷa into the tale, he assigned to him at the start a rank equal to that of the Pandya, but as the story proceeded on its course he pushed the Cōḷa into the back-ground and thrust the Pandya into the forefront. Thus, the very tale which had placed Cōḷa on the same plane as the Pandya was used as a step by which the Pandya could be raised to a higher level.

By way perhaps of consideration for the Cōḷa, the chronicler provided him with a companion in his misfortune by dragging the Cēra into the tale and subjecting him too to a similar fate. The introduction of the Cēra into the story served also the further object of raising the Pandya above both his traditional peers,—the kings of the other two great dynasties of the Tamil country.

We can no longer harbour any doubt about the real character of the Sports relating to the Ocean and the Mountain and the Lord of the Celestials: they stand out clearly as variations on themes which are extremely popular in the old puranic literature,—themes which are more ancient than any tale of the Sports of the Lord of Madurai.

Even thus, we have not arrived at an explanation of how the victory over the sea came to assume the aspect it now bears in the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams*, with its insistence on the sea laving the Pandya's feet. The earliest references to 'the laving the margins' are so late as Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle,[1] the comments of Naccinārkku-Iniyar[2] and the anonymous glossator on the *Puṟa-Nāṉūṟu*[3], and the *Naḷa-Veṇbā* of

1. ...அடி வடிம்பலம்பநின்றது.....
2. ...வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற...
3. ...வடிம்பலம்ப நின்றன்.....

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Puhaḻēndi,[1]— none of which is earlier than the eleventh century A. D. While they do not help us to reconstruct the legend, they make it obvious that the reference had by then come to be crystallised in a phrase, 'standing, the margins being laved'.[2] It must be noticed that only two of the references[3] add words which compel us to assume that what were laved were the feet.

Of another Arjuna, usually called Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna, 'the valorous son of Kṛta-vīrya',[4] it is said that he was 'the lord of the country near the shore of the sea',[5] that he was Anūpa-pati, the lord of the sea coast,[6] and that, when he was once 'walking along the shores of the sea' he 'showered hundreds of shafts at it' and forced it to tell him who his equal was in prowess.[7] No reason is suggested for his attacking the sea, and, if any reason could be inferred from the accounts now available, it is wholly inadequate: probably, the full tale is now lost. Considering that this Arjuna was killed by Paraśu-Rāma, that legends tell of the reclamation of land from the sea by Paraśu-Rāma in a portion of India which is adjacent to the Pandya country, (if it did not form part of it in early times), it is not unreasonable to infer that the accounts we now have of the battle are but fragments of a legend pertaining to Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna, and that, perhaps, the legend did tell of the sea lapping his feet submissively. Another legend seems to have it that with his javelin he slew Rāvaṇa's army and washed the javelin in the sea.[8] We have already noted that the mention of something having been laved goes along with an inability to specify what it was that was laved. So long as scholars were unable to determine the details of the story they abstained scrupulously from altering even slightly the phrase into which the idea had got crystallised. That phrase

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1. ஆழி வடிம்பலம்ப நின்றன்.....
2. வடிம்பலம்ப நின்ற, in all four.
3. PPPN and the commentator on the *PNN*.
4. *MB*. 3 (*Vana-*) : 116 (*Tīrtha-yātrā-*).
5. *Ib*.
6. *Ib*. 361.
7. *Ib*. 14 (*Aśvamēdha-*) ; 29 (*Anugīta-*), 73-4.
8. *ST*., vi. (1908 M-J.) 253-61 : this paper is among the most suggestive of the remarkable essays of Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar, and I am bound to record that it is a persual of this article many years ago that incited me on to this enquiry, and that I have greatly dared in presuming to reach different conclusions.

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can well be applied to a king the borders of whose territories were washed by the waves of the sea. Perhaps, after all, the phrase originated in the epithet applied to Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna,—Anūpa-pati, the lord of the sea coast. Being translated into Tamil in the ambiguous words, 'one who stood, the margins being laved by the sea',—properly applicable to a king whose country was sea-girt,—and then being misinterpreted to mean 'one who stood, the margins *of his feet* being laved by the sea', the phrase must have become the root of the story of the sea laving the Pandya's feet. A belief that Kārta-vīrya-Arjuna too was an ancestor of the Pandyas,—or even a confusion due to his being also an Arjuna,—might have been responsible for his achievements and titles being transferred to the Pandyas.

Thus, it is clear that the legends of the conquest of Indra, the Mountain and the Sea are the result of a jumbling up of legends relating to Agastya, the two Arjunas, Skanda, and Māndhātā, and, perhaps, Paraśu-Rāma as well. The mingling up of the legends may perhaps be traced in the passage quoted from the *Śilapp-Adihāram*, in which the feet are introduced, and we may take it that the process of the integration of these myths had started by the days of that poem. But it is not till we reach the days of the glossator on the *Puṟa-Nāṉūṟu* and of Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi that the sea is related to have laved the margins of the Pandya's feet; the evolution of the myth must therefore have been completed only by their days.

An allusion to Muruhaṉ (Skanda) 'examining Tamil' is traceable in a hymn on him in the *Pari-Pāḍal*, one of the Sangam collections: Muruhaṉ's 'examination' seems to have had reference to 'Poruḷ',— especially because he was an adept in the Love Clandestine.[1] This passage must be the little seed out of which the great legend of Rudra-janman has sprung.[2]

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1. அகறலறியாவணியிழைநல்லா
ரிகறலெக்கெண்டுதனிக்குந்தவறிலரித்
தள்ளாப்பொருளியல்பிற்றண்டமிழாய்வந்திலர்
கொள்ளாரிக்குன்றுபயுன்
9 : 23-6.

See also the gloss thereon of Pari-mēl Aḻahar :..... பொருளிலக் கணத்தையுடைய தமிழை ஆராயாத நூலவர் களவொழுக்கத்தைக் கொள்ள மாட்டார்...இனி அக் களவிற் புணர்ச்சியை யுடைமையான் வள்ளி சிறந்த வாறும் அத் தமிழை ஆய்ந்தமையான் முருகன் சிறந்தவாறும் கூறுகின்றார்.

2. PPPN 19 ; PJ 55.

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The legend of Mūrti[1] seems to be based on a historical event which might have happened between the third and the seventh centuries A. D.

The *Śilapp-Adihāram* of Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ contains a short account of how a lady cited a tree and a kitchen as witnesses,[2] but, being earlier than Jñāna-sambandha, the *Śilapp-Adihāram* does not connect the tale with that saint. When, however, miracles were woven round him the legend of this lady must have been connected with him.

Obviously, the other two legends about Jñāna-sambandha[3] are miracles fashioned out of events which had in them nothing that was miraculous.

The legend narrating the origin of the Elephant Mount[4] near Madurai says that the Lord slew an ogre-elephant and turned it into a mount and had Narasimha installed in it— the Narasiṁha image being due to the arrow with which the elephant was slain having been called after Narasimha. The legend is obviously compounded of two elements,— an account of a historical event and an explanation of a place-name. As we have an Elephant Mount (Āṉai-malai)[5] about six miles from Madurai, the etymological element in the legend must have arisen out of an attempt to account for the name. The Mount having gone by that name as early at least as 570 A. D. when it was mentioned by Varāhamihira under the name of Kuñjara-darī ('Elephant's Cave'),[6] the author of the legend could by then have fabricated the etymological explanation. The historical event to which an allusion has been worked into the tale is the cutting of a cave into the mount and the installing in it of an image of Narasimha. Three caves are found juxtaposed in the Mount; one is natural and two are artificial. Of the two artificial caves, one is the nucleus of Narasimha's temple. Two inscriptions engraved

1. PPPN 51 : PJ—
2. xxi. (*Vañjiṉa-*), 5-8.
3. PPPN 37-8 : PJ. 62-3.
4. PPPN 26 ; PJ 22,
5. That the place had attracted attention as early as perhaps the 3rd century B. C. is obvious from a Brāhmi inscription which is found incised in a cavern in the hill; see Krishna-Sastri, in *PTAIOC.* 1 (1919, Poona); 334, and K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar, in *Ib.* 3 (1924, Madras); 276, 280, 282, 294-5.
6. *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, xiv. 16.

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in the shrine of this temple say that Māṟaṉ-Kāri *alias* Madhura-kavi, 'the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya' king Parāṉaka *alias* Māṟaṉ-Śaḍaiyaṉ 'made this stone temple of Viṣṇu' and 'ascended heaven without completing it', and that 'his younger brother Māṟaṉ-Eyiṉaṉ.....made the mukha-maṇḍapa and consecrated the shrine' and that 'when 3871 years of Kali had passed', (that is, in 770 A.D.), 'this god was duly set up here'.[1] The Viṣṇu installed in the shrine was obviously a Narasimha: not only is it usual to instal that form of Viṣṇu in mountain caves, but an inscription in the same shrine, dated about 939 A.D., speaks also of the temple being dedicated to that manifestation of Viṣṇu.[2] As the Āṉai-malai hill 'bears a very fair resemblance to an elephant lying down',[3] the sight of a cavity bored in the side of the hill must have conjured up in some fanciful mind the idea of an elephant lying prone with a wound in its flank, and must have incited a romantic imagination to weave a tale of an ogre-elephant struck dead by an arrow which had entered deep in its flank. Such a tale could have risen only after the cave-temple had been excavated in 770 A. D. by Māṟaṉ-kāri, who passed the natural cave by and deliberately cut a cave out of the rock and installed in it a Narasimha. Both the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇams* are insistent on the Narasimha-arrow piercing the ogre elephant in the side and petrifying it and the figure of Narasimha being left behind in the petrified wound. It is therefore much more appropriate to take it that the chroniclers refer to the artificial cave and to the Narasimha image in it than to the natural cave which seems to have always remained untenanted by the image of any god, much less by that of a Narasimha. So, the legend of the slaying of an ogre-elephant,— at any rate that part of it which tells of the arrow of the Lord having been tipped with Narasimha,— and the tale in the *Kūḍal Purāṇam* about the Narasimha of this shrine could not have originated before Māṟaṉ-Kāri had the cave-shrine excavated,—that is, before the year 770 A. D.

Māṇikya-vācaka is assignable to the eighth century or the early half of the ninth century A. D.,[4] and the legends associated with him cannot be earlier.

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1. *EI.* viii. 317-21. See also Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *PK.* 4,60-1.
2. *MEC.* 1905 : 63.
3. Francis, W., *Madura* (*Gazetteer*, 1906), 254.
4. See my paper in *QJMS.* (1931 Oct.), xxii. 185-200.

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The name Varaguṇa is found in the historical records of the Pandyas, but it is still doubtful if they prove that there was only one Varaguṇa or if there were more of that name. One wonders, in view of certain features of the legend of Bhadra and of certain other allusions to Varaguṇa himself, whether there was not yet another Varaguṇa—different from the two Varaguṇas of epigraphists[1]— who could be placed somewhere about the times of Jñāna-sambandha.[2] The later Varaguṇa or Varaguṇas seem to have reigned between 765 and 900 A. D. The Varaguṇa of the chronicle is said to have defeated a Cōḷa and to have rebuilt a gateway of the temple at Tiru-Iḍai-Marudūr: inscriptions associate the name of a Varaguṇa with a battle at Tirup-Puṟambiyam, a few miles from Tiru-Iḍai-Marudūr, against the Pallavas and probably the Cōḷas as well, and with Tiru-Viśalūr, a place which is about a mile and a half to the west of Tiru-Iḍai-Marudūr. These correspondences are close enough to raise the presumption that the Varaguṇa of the chronicle was one of the two later Varaguṇas. The question bristles with difficulties, but, though it is doubtful which of the Varaguṇas is the original of the legend, we may not be wrong if we concluded that the Sports of Varaguṇa and Bhadra could not have been earlier than Jñāna-sambandha and not later than the last of the Varaguṇas: they lie between 600 and 900 A. D.

These are the Sports of which the origins and the growth may roughly be traced. The other legends are so free from genuine historical associations that it is impossible to investigate their origins with the aim of reaching even tentative conclusions.

This examination of the Sports of which the origins could be traced seems to take us to the conclusions that some of the Sports are a conglomerate of legends of great men to whom the Pandyas claimed to be kin,— such as the two Arjunas,— or with whom they claimed connection otherwise,— for instance, as preceptor and disciple, as in the cases of Agastya, Jñāna-sambandha and, perhaps, Māṇikya-vācaka,—and that a few are legends that have grown round the great ones of their own line,—such as Varaguṇa.

The three Sports of the discus, the javelin and the club could be traced back as early as the Sangam age, their traces

1. I am discussing it in my *Saivism in South India* ; *Mediaeval Period*. Or, perhaps, the earlier belonged to that period.

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being visible in the work of Iḷam-Kō-Aḍihaḷ, but the rest are later than the sixth century A.D., and of them a few could not have been earlier than the ninth century A.D. But these Sports had swollen to the number of thirty-one by the days of the *Kallāḍam*, and the canon had become fixed in that poem at sixty-four,— though only theoretically.

A problem thus emerges. How did it happen that the legends which were no more than three in number in the time of Iḷam-Ko-Aḍihaḷ rose to the rather phenomenal number of sixty-four by the tenth or the eleventh century A. D.?

A significant feature of those legends as they finally developed gives us the clue. Among the objects with which they had been fashioned not the least important was that of showing that the Pandyas were under the protecting wings of Siva and that the Lord of Madurai concerned himself greatly with their fortunes. The growth of these legends must therefore have been largely conditioned by the extent to which Saivism came to be accepted in the Pandya country. Jainism seems to have been a highly disturbing factor,— as disturbing indeed as the intrusion of the Kaḷabhras into the Pandya dominions had been in the political sphere. Vaiṣṇavism too seems to have had votaries among the Pandyas, though it is difficult to fix their number or chronological position. Saivism seems therefore to have had to go through a severe struggle for dominion. With Mūrti a turn set in; a devotee of Siva became king over a land which had been for some length of time under the sway of Jainism. From about the days of Mūrti the times seem to have become propitious for the growth of a special class of sacred legends about Siva. The myths about Siva which we find preserved in Sanskrit literature must have been popular in south India for centuries before and after the foundation of the city of Madurai. But when the temple to Siva was founded at Madurai the devotees must have been anxious to have a miraculous account of the appearance of that Siva, and a legend or two, or perhaps even a brief cycle of legends, must have been fashioned for the purpose. The number of such legends does not seem, however, to have appreciably multiplied till the days of Mūrti; atleast, we have no evidence. At about his time were current legends of another class connecting the kings of Madurai with classic figures like Arjuna and Agastya,— legends which even then must have been of considerable antiquity

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in the Tamil country. When the fortunes of Saivism revived at Madurai with the advent of Mūrti there must have been an attempt on the part of the devotees of Siva to utilise the occasion to improve the prospects of Saivism and to win over large masses of people to that faith. The revival of the orthodox cult of Siva must have tended also to give an impetus to the revival of the other orthodox cult of Viṣṇu, for both the cults must have equally profited by the set-back which the heterodox Jainism had received. That tales of miracles are subtle and yet potent vehicles of religious propaganda is among the earliest of discoveries in mass psychology, and the protagonists of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism at Madurai must, in their struggle against Jainism, have looked on miracle-making as a highly religious duty. An ancient and orthodox belief being that a king is under the special tutelage of the deity of his country or its capital, the makers of miracles are not likely to have forgotten to make the Pandyas the proteges of the Lord Sundara of Madurai. And if the Lord had to work miracles, what could be more natural than that he should work some for his proteges? Thus must have risen some of the miracles which tell of the Lord saving the Pandyas at various crises in their history. Some legends which are told of other persons might also have been adapted suitably: among the products of such adaptation may be the tale of the Lord 'studying' Tamil at Madurai,—a modification, perhaps, of the tale of Agastya learning Tamil.

Some time after Mūrti,— we do not know how much later,— the great saint and hymnist Jñāna-sambandha came to Madurai, checked the aggressiveness of Jainism and converted the Pandya of his times to Saivism. Thenceforward the Pandya kings seem to have been less prone to succumb to the wiles of Jainism, and the orthodox cults of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism found countenance and support at the royal court. The hero of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*, who seems to have been a devout worshipper of Siva, must have been a pillar of strength to the cause of Saivism in those difficult days when the country was being wrested for the two orthodox faiths. The saintliness of Varaguṇa and his surpassing devotion to Siva must have been a beacon-light to the commonalty illuminating by practical example the strength and the virtues that come of devotion to Siva. Still, so determined must Jainism have been to regain lost ground that novel methods must have been anxiously looked for to popularise the orthodox religions of

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Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The miracles of Siva and Viṣṇu of which the ancient puranas had spoken at considerable length had been current in the south for centuries before, and so had been known too long to be used to arouse interest or to evoke enthusiasm. The three great hymnists of Tamil Saivism,—Jñāṉa-sambandha, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu and Sundara,— and such of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs as were of that period, sang of those ancient deeds of the two gods with all the fervour of deep devotion and genuine inspiration, but the legends of old had lost their grip on the imagination of the people. New miracles were needed to whip up interest in faiths that had almost lost their savour for the masses. Just at the nick of the hour came a remarkable hymnist, Māṇikya-vācaka, whose fervid imagination saw life as an endless series of miracles worked by the Lord Siva for the salvation of His devotees, and in hymns which grip the imagination with claws of steel and stir the soul deeply and strangely he sang of the infinite variety and the surpassing marvel of the miracles which his Lord, Siva, could work and had worked. Some of those miracles can scarcely be identified now and some can never be identified; many of the miracles he mentions are not to be found in the hymns of his three great predecessors. Māṇikya-vācaka pictured perhaps as many miracles as were possible to God. The divine denizen of many a Siva temple of the Tamil country was the theme of his song, but he was greatly fascinated by the Lord Siva as manifest in the temples of Cidambaram, Tirup-Perum-Tuṟai and Madurai, and of those manifestations he sang with a fervour— almost an abandon,— to which few parallels could be found in the whole range of hymnal literature. Like the true believer that he was he drew no distinction between the Lord of one fane and the Lord of another, for, to him each was but a different manifestation of the same everlasting Being. So, the miracles which in one hymn he would attribute to the Lord of one shrine he would unhesitatingly narrate of the Lord of another shrine in another hymn. Yet, so personal was Māṇikya-vācaka's devotion to Sundara, the Lord of Madurai, and so firm was his faith that the destinies of the Pandya country lay in the lap of the Lord Sundara that he conceived of Sundara as the real and undisputed sovereign of that land and he called Him by the name of Pāṇḍya. The conception was by no means new in Hindu thought, but it received special emphasis in the Pandya country by reason of being embedded in psalms so popular as Māṇikya-vācaka's.

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Set in every key and striking every noble note, the hymns of Māṇikya-vācaka are organ peals that pierce the deafest of ears and rouse the most torpid of souls. The hymns, with their repetition of the greatness of the Lord Sundara and their insistence on His being the genuine Pāṇḍya, must have served to raise Sundara to a special position among the Lords of the various temples of the Pandya country and must have endowed Him with the status of *primus inter pares*. The miracles with which the Lord Sundara could be said to stand directly associated in Māṇikya-vācaka's hymns are very few, but so full of miracles are Māṇikya-vācaka's hymns that it is not difficult to assume that many of the miracles could possibly be associated with Madurai : at any rate, the lavish mention that he makes of miracles must have encouraged devotees to start attributing some of them to the Lord of Madurai and to endow with flesh and blood the incidents to which he alludes all too briefly in his hymns and also to fabricate new miracles for the edification of those who were in sore need of such mythological aids to the faith which they professed.

We have just seen that a significant stage in the evolution of the Sports was reached when Siva was treated as a Pandya. This step is of even greater significance than is visible at first sight. If Siva was to be an ancestor of the Pandya line, it was but proper that He must be the earliest in the line. But He could not be the very first; for, then, the origin of the appellation Pandya would remain unexplained. Family names being usually derived from the name of an eponymous hero, the need for an eponymous ancestor named Pandya precluded Siva taking rank as the first of the ancestors. If, however, He was to be treated as a descendant of the eponymous hero, it became necessary to explain why He had to be born as son of man. These difficulties were got over by making Siva, not a scion of the Pandya line, but a son-in-law of an early Pandya king. But the Sanskrit puranas had it that another great man, Arjuna, had also entered the Pandya family as a son-in-law. The Chroniclers of the sacred legends must have felt it awkward that the greatness of the Pandya line should depend on two strangers. They decided on eliminating one of them, and the choice lay between Siva and Arjuna. It is not surprising that Arjuna was cast overboard, for the need of the hour was a chronicle in glorification of Siva and not a mere genealogical account. Thus must

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it have happened that Arjuna does not figure at all in the sacred chronicles of Madurai.

The son of Siva by the Pandya princess was given the name of Ugra, and, being equated in some measure to the deity Skanda, who, in Sanskrit mythology, is considered the son of Siva, was made the principal figure in a number of Sports.

At about this time, the attention of those who were busy adding to the canon of the miracles must have been attracted by the verses in the *Pari-Pāḍal* delineating Skanda in the character of a proficient in the art of the Love Clandestine. Skanda in a character not known to Sanskrit mythology was too valuable an asset to Tamil mythology to be easily relinquished. The miracle-makers must have cast about for means of introducing Skanda in that role in the legends of Madurai. An ancient treatise on the art of Love, laying stress on the Clandestine side of it, and known to be the handiwork of an Iṟaiyaṉār had been discovered some decades earlier when a priest of the temple of Sundara was tidying up the sanctum; a commentary on it was written by a great scholar Nak-Kīraṉ, and, perhaps, it had met with the approval of another eminent scholar, Rudra-janman,—a Vaiśya by birth. The word Iṟaiyaṉār is capable of being considered an appellation of the Lord Siva, and the name Rudra-janman may with great appropriateness be applied to Skanda. The miracle-makers could not have come across a more appropriate concatenation of circumstances: all the requisities of a new Sport lay ready to hand. The author of the treatise could have been Siva : its discovery must have been due to divine grace: the commentary could have been approved by Skanda. So, the treatise on Love was attributed to the Lord Siva, and Rudra-janman was made an incarnation of Skanda, and the rest of the tale was woven as it suited the fancy of the author of the legend. Rudra-janman would have been equated to Ugra but for the fact of his caste having been well-known. Rudra-janman the Vaiśya could not be identified with Ugra the Kṣatriya. Hence, he was made a personality distinct from Ugra, and yet, he was called an incarnation of Skanda. The author of this particular legend was perhaps Nīlahaṇḍaṉār, the author of the interpolation in the Special Preface to Nak-Kīraṉ's gloss, or perhaps a romancer of a slightly earlier generation.

But, Nak-Kīraṉ, the author of the commentary on the treatise of Love, bore a name famous in Tamil literature. So, he, in

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turn, was made the nucleus of another group of legends. The character of the legends was shaped by the fact that Nak-Kīraṇs of different periods had established firm reputations for themselves in Tamil literature. Almost at the beginning of the period of feverish propaganda against Jainism,— when the seventh century was drawing to a close, or the eighth century was running its early course,— came a Nak-Kīraṇ, one of the giants of Tamil literature,— a grammarian of great acumen, a poet of genuine inspiration and a devotee the depth of whose devotion to Siva was remarkable even in an age when saints were stalking the land. His hymns on Siva are greatly revered and have been included in the Holy Canon of Tamil Saivism. He was fortunate in his patron, the Pandya king Neḍu-Māraṇ, who, besides being a great conqueror and a passionate devotee of Siva, was a scholar of rare attainments in Tamil literature. Centuries earlier, there had been poets of the name of Nak-Kīraṇ, some of whom must have basked in the patronage of Pandya kings. When, therefore, the rage for miracles set in, the great name of Nak-Kīraṇ was naturally chosen as a core round which to collect some legends. The miracle-maker, blind in his quest for miracles, must have thought that the earlier Nak-Kīraṇs were all but one poet and that he was identical with the later poet, and must have got busy over the figure he had evoked by an ignorant or an uncritical integration of distinct personalities. Having had reason to believe that Nak-Kīraṇ had had contemporaries of great repute, he must have made them too play active roles in the one-act plays he was staging under the appellation of Sports. He was probably emboldened to do so by the popularity of legends based partly on the practice of princes having scholars in attendance on them and partly on the custom of princes and peoples convoking assemblies of the learned to expound or decide problems of difficulty, holding out perhaps the incentive of a prize at the close of the proceedings. The allusions to such assemblies found in the hymns of Jñāṇa-sambandha and Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu,— including the legend of Darumi—must have afforded some foothold on which to raise elaborate legends of Academies. Such must be the origin of the tales of the Academies. How far other notions of a 'Saṅgam' affected the evolution of the legend will be considered in due course.

Those legends that must have grown up before Māṇikya-vācaka's days round the Lord Sundara and those legends that must

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have arisen as a consequence of His emphasis on the miraculous, must, within a few decades of him, have come to number about thirty. His description of the Lord Sundara as the Pandya must have also contributed in no small measure to the growth of the notion that once upon a time the Lord had sat on the Pandya throne as King Sundara. The transition from the conception of the Lord Sundara as King Sundara to the belief that King Sundara was an ancestor of the Pandyas could not be violent. Thus, the miracles must have come to be as many as thirty by the time of the *Kallāḍam*, and the Lord Sundara must have become a Pandya and the ancestor of a long line of Pandyas, and therefore anxious to work miracles for them.

When the tales of the miracles attained this shape they advanced a step in their evolution. They were no longer tales of local miracles worked out painfully from place-names or re-cast out of heterogeneous fragments of ancient mythology : they had became Sports of the Lord of Madurai who took an abiding interest not only in the line of the Pandyas who were descended from Him but also in the Pandya's subjects and worked miracles for the well-being of them all.

A further stage in the evolution was reached when the poet of the *Kallāḍam* embodied over thirty of the Sports in his poem. The tales of the Sports no longer remained scattered and unrelated: they got grouped together as illustrating the ceaseless activity of the Lord in the realm of the miraculous. The *Kallāḍam* must indeed have suggested the compilation of a work placing on record all the marvellous miracles which the Lord had worked for the Pandya and for the people of Madurai. But that work had to await the completion of the full tale of sixty-four Sports.

The craze for miracles, roused by Māṇikya-vācaka and fed by the *Kallāḍam*, grew more intense from day to day and the miracles multiplied. A few passages in the hymns of Jñāna-sambandha contain suggestions which seem to have served as nucleii for the Sports of which he figures as the hero. They must have gained currency between the date of the *Kallāḍam* and that of Nambi-Āṇḍār Nambi. Māṇikya-vācaka himself became the centre of a group of legends,—a victim to the movement to which he had given so strong an impetus. Certain tales which had been current before his days were moulded into

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Sports played for him.[1] The adaptation seems to have been effected in the period intervening between the *Kallāḍam* and the *Sāra-Samuccaya*.

Thus, in about a century, the floating mass of legends must have reached the number of sixty-four,— the figure at which, in deference perhaps to some mystic notion, the aggregate of the Sports had been fixed in the *Kallāḍam*. When the number of the miracles had thus reached the pre-appointed number of sixty-four, a chronicler must have taken on himself the pious task of narrating in Sanskrit, the sacred language, the tales of the sixty-four miraculous deeds of the Lord. The *Sāra-Samuccaya* must have been the result. The rendering of this work into the Tamil *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* by Perum-Parṟap-Puliyūr Nambi must have followed in due course for the edification of those who knew only Tamil.

The *Kallāḍam* having been placed about the beginning of the tenth century A. D., and it being difficult to place Perum-Parṟap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the *Sāra-Samuccaya* may be taken to have been written in the latter part of the tenth or in the eleventh century, A. D.

To conclude that the *Sāra-Samuccaya* was written in the tenth or the eleventh century A. D. amounts practically to saying that all the miracles of the Lord Sundara as we find them narrated by Perum-Parṟap-Puliyūr Nambi had become current in the Pandya country by then.

How does it happen that while a cycle of Sports gathered round the Siva of Madurai, no similar cycle of legends grew round the Viṣṇu of the city? Both the Siva and the Viṣṇu of the place were known by the name of Sundara, and, in all probability, temples to the two deities had been raised together at the time of the foundation of the city. Tales must have been fabricated even then to account for the two deities manifesting themselves in the capital of the Pandya country. Such of the Pandyas as were devotees of Viṣṇu would have taken it that they themselves and their city were under the protection of Sundara the Viṣṇu, just as those Pandyas who were attached to Siva would have deemed themselves to be under the protection of Sundara the Siva.

1. See my article on Māṇikya-vācaka in *QJMS*, xxii, (1931 Oct.) 185-200.

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Indeed, it would have been more in consonance with the special character of Viṣṇu to have treated Him, in preference to Siva, as the Pandya *par excellence* holding sway over the Pandya country. The Viṣṇu of Madurai had thus as good a chance of becoming the centre of a cycle of legends as the Siva of that city. But Siva outstripped Him and became the hero of sixty-four Sports. One explanation might be that the Pandyas of the period when the tales of the Sports grew up were devotees of Siva. But a truer explanation would seem to lie in the circumstance that when the two orthodox faiths were reviving and were making a bid for popularity in the Pandya country, there came a devotee of Siva who sang hymns of great beauty laying special stress on the ability of the Lord Siva to work endless and marvellous miracles and emphasising the greatness of Siva as manifest at Madurai. The devotees of Viṣṇu did not produce a Māṇikya-vācaka in that crucial period. Siva as Sundara became the nucleus of a grand cycle of miracles, while Viṣṇu as Sundara had to remain content with the few tales that had already been woven about Him.

Of the value of these Sports to the historian little more need be said than that it cannot but bear a strict proportion to the *quantum* of actual fact which the myth-makers had chosen to introduce, or to retain, in fashioning the tales. Considering the methods adopted by the myth-makers, it is difficult to believe that the *quantum* of fact in the legends is anything but negligible. A few legends enshrine valuable nuggets of history, but the setting in which they appear makes us seriously discount their value.

Even among scholars there is a disposition to attach some value to the chronological scheme framed by the author of the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* and adopted by Param-jyōti,— doubtless because of the air of verisimilitude which it imparts to the Chronicles. The examination, however, to which we have submitted the growth of the works embodying the chronological scheme must have served to dispel all illusions about the value of the chronology. Tales which had been spun haphazard were gathered together into the *Kallāḍam* and the *Sāra-Samuccaya*,— works innocent of all pretentions to be historical. Out of stray hints in the *Sāra-Samuccaya* an elaborate chronological scheme was worked out in the *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, and, in the process, the few names in the *Sāra-Samuccaya* which are likely to be historical were eliminated: new names were coined and places were found for them. Even so, there were large gaps for which no names of

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kings were available. More names were invented and the gaps were filled with them. Again, the tales did not cover all the yugas of mythology, and the legends were only sixty-four. So, the miracles were spread out over the yugas and fictitious kings were invented to cover the large spaces of time for which no kings were known.

Works produced on such methods could hardly be useful for purposes of history. Three illustrations should be enough to show how absurd the results are. Karikāla-Cōla becomes earlier than the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Not even the most hare-brained of those dabbling in south Indian history has taken Karikāla so far back. Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ, the friend of Kabilaṉ, who in turn is the friend of Nak-Kīraṉ, appears separated from Nak-Kīraṉ by a period covered by the reigns of no fewer than fourteen kings. Mūrti, one of the few figures in Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle whose historicity would seem to find confirmation from other sources, is omitted altogether, in spite of Mūrti being the king in whose reign seems to have started the revival of Saivism in the Pandya country. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya* assumes that throughout the space of time which it brought within its scope the kings of the Pandya line ruled in unbroken succession, uninterrupted by the intrusion of any other power or any other dynasty. Mūrti was a Vaiśya by all accounts and therefore not a Pandya by descent. The *Māhātmya* could not incorporate the miracle of Mūrti's call to the Pandya throne without doing violence to the principle it had adopted that the kings of Madurai shall be invariably of the Pandya lineage. The Chronicle had therefore to reject the fairly historical Mūrti and invent another king and another tale to keep the number of miracles at sixty-four.

The author of the *Māhātmya* did not intend to write or to preserve history. If the tales contain some history, it is because such was the material that lay ready to his hand and not because he was eager for history. The chronological sequence which one associates with historical works was necessary to give unity to his work and he was too great a literary artist to deny himself the advantages of the historical method for fear that centuries later the matter-of-fact historian, devoid of all feeling for the romantic, would seriously scan his chronicle for traces of sober history. It was of precisely the same value to him as the device of the narrating of tales from day to day was to the author of the *Arabian Nights* or of the *Decameron*.

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Through the many centuries in which the tales grew from about three to over three score and from mere legends into Sacred Sports they kept growing less and less useful to the historian.

POSTSCRIPT

My view of the date of Param-jyōti, which was based solely on internal evidence, is confirmed, on other evidence, by MMU. Dr. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar, who states that in some old manuscripts of Param-jyōti's chronicle, two of the stanzas of the Special Preface are ascribed to (Palapaṭṭaḍai) Śokkanāda-Piḷḷai, and he infers that those stanzas must have been composed at the time of the publication of the chronicle of Param-jyōti. He adds that Śokkanāda-Piḷḷai lived about 200 years back (see the MMU's edition of *Srī Padmagiri-nādar Tenral Vidu Tūdu*, 1932, J-J.) It follows that in his opinion Param-jyōti too must be placed about 1700 A. D.

NOTE

In concluding this paper I am bound to state that I have made heavy drafts on the wealth of material brought together by MMU. Dr. V. Śāmināda-Aiyar in his mounmental edition of Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's chronicle. Were I publishing this paper separately and were it only worthier of his acceptance, I would be dedicating it to him in humble token of my gratitude.

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SOME MORE NYĀYAS.

BY

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5. मध्याह्नमार्तण्डमण्डलन्याय.

The simile of the mid-day sun. It is one of the doctrines of the Kashmir Śaiva Philosophy that the Supreme Self which is in all of us, is hidden by its own lustre, by its own power, by its own **स्वातन्त्र्यशक्ति.** To illustrate this idea, the simile of the mid-day sun is used. The figure of the mid-day sun is obscured by its own lustre, whereas early in the morning and in the evening the sun's figure is clearly visible. Sometimes, instead of the sun, the analogy of a bright ruby, the figure of which is drowned in its own lustre is used. Says Maheśvarānanda in his Mahārtha-mañjarī p. 28 (Kashmir edition).

माणिक्यप्रवेक इव निचोलितो निजमयूखरेखया ।

प्रतिभाति लौकिकानामत्यन्तस्फुटोऽपि अस्फुट आत्मा ॥

Commenting on this, the author himself says :—

आत्मरूपो हि परेमश्वरः प्रकाशोत्कर्षत्वात् अशेषभुवनव्यापनक्षमत्वाच्च विश्वविकल्पकल्पनामयीमर्चिःप्ररोहपरंपरामुपर्युपरि उन्मीलयन् "तत्सृष्ट्वा । तदेव अनुप्राविशत्" इति उपनिषत्प्राक्रियया तयैव च निचोलितः कञ्चुकितप्रायो नित्यमास्ते । अतः प्राकट्योद्रेककक्ष्यारूढतया विभ्रष्टव्योऽपि असौ मध्याह्न-मार्तण्डमण्डलन्यायेन तत्तद्राश्मिपरंपरास्फुरणप्राचुर्येण रश्मिवत् गुणसाधर्म्यात् अप्राकट्यावस्थामधितिष्ठति । यथा त्रासादिरहित्यात् अत्यन्तस्वच्छो माणिक्यो-पलखण्डः स्फुरदुरुमरीचिमञ्जरीपर्यन्ततयैव माणिक्यवदुत्कृष्टमिति नाध्यवसितुं शक्यते तद्वत् आत्मनोऽपि स्वशक्तितिरोहितत्वोद्वास्फुटत्वाशङ्का ।

In this passage, the author makes use of both the similes.

6. भ्रमरकीटन्याय.

The analogy of the **भ्रमरकीट** or of the **भ्रमर** and the **कीट.** It is used to illustrate the idea that by constantly thinking about a

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thing, one becomes assimilated to it or identified with it. Hence it is found in passages which teach devotion to God or the Supreme Being as a means of attaining communion with Him. Śrīmadbhāgavata, XI. 10. 23 runs as follows:—

कीटः पेशस्कृतं ध्यायन् कुड्यां तेन प्रवेशितः ।
याति तत्सात्मतां राजन् पूर्वरूपमसंत्यजन् ॥

On this, the commentary भावार्थदीपिका says :—

कुड्यां प्रवेशितः निरुद्धः । भयेन ध्यायन् । तत्सात्मतां तत्सारूप्यम् । साम्यतामिति पाठे पार्षदताम् । पूर्वरूपमसंत्यजन्नित्यस्यायमभिप्रायः—यदा तेनैव देहेनान्यसारूप्यं दृश्यते तदा किं वक्तव्यं देहान्तरेण सारूप्यं घटत इति ।

The idea seems to be that the insect called पेशस्कृत् imprisons in its hole another insect referred to here as कीट. The latter, through fear, keeps on thinking of the former to such an extent that it assumes the form and shape of its capturer. Again Bhāgavata, VII. 1. 30 reads :—

कीटः पेशस्कृतारूढः कुड्यायां तमनुस्मरन् ।
संरम्भभययोगेन विन्दते तत्स्वरूपताम् ॥

And VII. 10. 41. reads as follows:—

एनः पूर्वकृतं यत्तद्राजानः कृष्णवैरिणः ।
जहुस्तेऽपि तदात्मानः कीटा पेशस्कृतो यथा ॥

On this, the भावर्थदीपिका says :—

कीटः पेशस्कृतो ध्यानेन यथा तदात्मा भवतीति ।

The simile occurs in the Kashmir Śaiva literature also. Says the Śivasūtravimarśini, p. 20, note 92.

आत्मनो भैरवं रूपं भावयेद्यस्तु पूरुषः ।
तस्य मन्त्राः प्रसिद्ध्यन्ति नित्यमुक्तस्य सुन्दरि ॥
भ्रमरकीटन्यायेन तन्मय एव परिशिष्यत इति ।

7. शिखण्ड्यण्डरसन्याय.

The simile of the juice of the pea-hen's egg. It is used to illustrate the idea that all the variety found in a developed state is found potentially in the undeveloped state also. There is potentially present in the pea-hen's egg all the wonderful variety of colour, etc. which is found in the fully developed pea-cock.

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In the same way, according to Kashmir Śaivism, all the wonderful variety of the fully developed Universe is potentially present in the Lord before its emanation. Says the Mahārthamañjarī, p. 71—

विश्वस्य उन्मेषलक्षणायामवस्थायां यावान् प्रसरः षडध्वोल्लासप्रथासतत्त्वो भवति तथा विश्वस्य निमेषे कललावस्थायां तावान् उन्मेषदशासमस्वभावो भवति । यथा शिखण्ड्यण्डे सर्वशिल्पवयवानुप्रविष्टबर्हपरिबर्हादिपूर्णरेखादिवैचित्र्यशिल्पकल्पनाकौशलमपि एतत्सूक्ष्मेक्षिकावधार्यमङ्गीक्रियते । एवमत्रापि ।

In the same work, while saying that the three forms of speech, वैखरी, मध्यमा, पश्यन्ती are potentially present in the form called सूक्ष्मा, the author remarks:—

सूक्ष्मा तु शिखण्ड्यण्डरसन्यायात् उक्तवाक्त्रयशबलीकृतस्वभावा प्रत्यग्दृशः परमेश्वरस्योद्योगलक्षणावृत्तिराख्यायते । p. 105.

The various elements, being only potentially present in the egg, are in a state of union and not differentiated. It is to bring out this aspect that the simile is used in the शिवसूत्रविमर्शिनी p. 32.

यद्यवश्यं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं वा तत्तत् सर्वमहमिदमिति सदाशिववन्महासमापत्त्या स्वाङ्गकल्पमस्य स्फुरति । न भेदेन । शरीरं च देहधीप्राणशून्यरूपं नीलादिवद् दृश्यं न तु पशुवद् द्रष्टृतया भाति । एवं देहे बाह्ये सर्वत्रास्य मयूराण्डरसवदविभक्तैव प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति ।

8. आदर्शावलोकनन्याय.

The simile of looking into a mirror. In this act, the one who looks is the same as the one looked at; the 'I' becomes 'You'. This idea is used to explain ज्ञान and क्रिया in the Mahārthamañjarī, p. 42.

ज्ञानं हि नामाहंभावावभासनात्मा सर्वप्राणिनां स्वयंवेदनसिद्धस्वभावः । क्रिया च करचरणानुबन्धिनी सर्वसाक्षात्कारयोग्या परिस्फुरति । तत्र जानामि करोमि इत्यादिवत् जानामि इत्यादावपि आदर्शावलोकनादिन्यायात् अस्मच्छब्दार्थ एव युष्मदाद्यर्थतया अवभासते इति अहंतैव सर्वत्र आत्मतत्त्वम् ॥

9. दशमस्त्वमसीतिन्याय.

This maxim arises, perhaps, from the habit one has of forgetting to count oneself when one ascertains the number of people

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in a company, until the mistake is pointed out by somebody with some such remark as: दशमस्त्वमसि—'And you are the tenth'. In Kashmir Śaiva literature, it is used to illustrate how we all tend to forget our own आत्मा. Says the भास्करी on the प्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी indroductory verse:—

भासमानस्याप्यात्मनो विस्मृतिर्ज्ञायत एव अन्यथा दशमस्त्वमसीतिन्यायेन तत्वमसीत्युपदेशायोगात् ।

10. अग्निकणन्याय.

The maxim of the spark of fire. This is used to explain the idea that the microcosm is, in essence and substance, the same as the macrocosm, just as a spark of fire is the same as a huge flame of it.

भवद्भिरपि ब्रह्मणो ज्ञीवाकारत्वमेवोच्यते । अग्निकणन्यायेन ततो जीवप्रादुर्भावकथनात् ।

भास्करी on ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी Indroductory verse.

11. नहिप्रथितमप्रथितमितिन्याय.

The maxim that a thing which has once been manifested or has come into existence remains so, does not cease to be so. While setting forth the view that men of all castes and all stations of life are entitled to the study of the प्रत्याभिज्ञा system of Śaiva Philosophy and that there is no 'अधिकारिनियम' अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य says :—

यस्य यस्य हि स्वरूपप्रथनं तस्य तस्य महाफलं प्रथनस्यैव परमार्थफलत्वात् तस्य च प्रतिबन्धकसंमतैरप्रतिबन्धनीयत्वात्, नहिप्रथितम-प्रथितमीति न्यायात् । ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी I. p. 14.

The author here means that the ultimate fruit can be enjoyed by anybody to whom the आत्मा has been revealed in its true from or स्वरूप. This revelation is the ultimate aim of life and it cannot be prevented by what is ordinarily considered an obstacle. Explaining the maxim, the Bhāskarī says:—

अत्रं पूर्वोचार्योक्तं न्यायं हेतुत्वेनाह—न, हीति । अन्यथा अग्निरपि कदाचिदनग्निरिति भवेत् । स्फुरणमात्रस्यैव परमार्थतः स्वरूपत्वादिति हेत्वभिप्रायः ।

12. तदसिद्धं यदसिद्धेन साध्यते.

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The maxim that a thing is not proved if it depends upon another thing which is itself not established. It occurs in a passage of Jayaratha's commentary on Tantrāloka Vol. VII, where someone tries to show the difference between दीप and ज्ञान in the matter of illuminating objects. The point is that a lamp reveals itself while it illuminates objects, whereas ज्ञान cannot do this. Explaining this point, जयरथ says:—

तेनार्थप्रकाशनावसरे दीपस्य स्वयमपि प्रकाशो न तु ज्ञानस्येति। अतश्च तदसिद्धं यदसिद्धेन साध्यते इति न्यायेन स्वयमप्रकाशमानं ज्ञानं कथं परं प्रकाशयेदित्याशयः।

13. उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय.

The maxim of the picture which has been manifested, created. A picture exists at first in the imagination of the artist, but when it is manifested, it is उन्मीलित. Maheśvarānanda uses the simile while describing the emanation of सदाशिव and ईश्वर. He says:—

अहन्ते दन्तालक्षणयोर्ज्ञानक्रिययोराद्योद्रेकात् उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायेन व्यक्ताव्यक्तविश्वमातृतास्वभावं सदाशिवाख्यं तत्त्वम्। एतद्विपर्ययेण क्रियाशक्त्यौज्ज्वल्ये व्यक्ताकारविश्वानुसंधातृरूपं ईश्वरतत्त्वमिति।

(Mahārthamañjarī, p. 44.)

The interesting point here is that उन्मीलत corresponds to व्यक्ताव्यक्त and not to अव्यक्त. Perhaps a picture is said to be उन्मीलित when it has gone beyond the stage of imagination and has begun to take concrete shape, but before it is completely manifested.

14. तरङ्गानुतरङ्गन्याय.

The maxim of waves and sub-waves. Maheśvarānanda while describing अहंकार, बुद्धि and मनस् states first of all that the चैतन्य can be looked upon as an ocean. In this ocean, the three faculties mentioned are the three big waves, while the senses of perception are the sub-waves. He says:—

अहंकारादीनि आत्मनोऽन्तःकरणानि न केवलं बहिरवलोकितान् विषयान् अनुभावयन्ति, किं तर्हि स्वयमाक्रान्तया प्रमातृचिच्छक्त्या अन्तर्वर्तिनमखिलमपि वेद्यवर्गं विषयाभावयोग्यतानुप्रवेशार्थं प्रकाशस्वभावतापादनात्मकपावनीकरणयुक्त्या अनुगृह्णन्ति इति कल्लोलायमानानि। एतानि हृदयमहांबुराशौ महातरङ्गा इव ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि तु तरङ्गानुतरङ्गन्यायमन्वर्तन्ते इति॥

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THE VṚTTIS.

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Synopsis.

[I. Introduction. II. The Mythological stories of the origin of the four Vṛttis. III. What is Vṛtti? Its relation to Drama; the meaning and nature of the concept; separate examination of the meaning, nature and origin of the four Vṛttis one by one. IV. The Vṛttyaṅgas; the Vṛttis in relation to Rasa and types of Drama; the Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis; the Vṛttis and the nature or type of hero. V. The number of Vṛttis; the views of Udbhaṭa, Śakalīgarbha and the refutation of these by Lollaṭa and Abhinava; the views of the Daśarūpaka, Bhoja Śāradātanaya and Haripāladeva; Śiṅgabhūpāla's refutation of Bhoja's view. VI. The history of the concept of Vṛtti in Kāvya or Poetics as compared with that in Nāṭya or Dramaturgy.]

Bharata treats of the Vṛttis in Chapter XXIII[1], called the Vṛttivikalpādhyāya. In this chapter, he gives a mythological story of the origin of the four Vṛttis, a description of the four Vṛttis and their Aṅgas and finally the Rasaprayoga of these four. Earlier, in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, he indicates the real nature of the Vṛttis. As in other places, like his concept Lakṣaṇa, Bharata gives us no clear-cut definition here. Things are always hazy, leaving in us an impression that even before the time of the Śāstra, the names of the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī, Sāttvati, and Bhāratī had become established as *rūḍhis* and that the writer of the text had been driven to the refuge of grammar in his endeavours to define and distinguish the four Vṛttis and indicate their real relation to Nāṭya. While inquiring into many

1. References are generally to the Kāśi edn. of the N. S. The K. M. edn. treats of the Vṛttis in Chap. XX. The K. M. edn. is also occasionally referred to, wherever its readings are better than those in the Kāśi edn.

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things we long to lay hands on the lost literature upon which Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra is based. Naturally later writers, even those like Śiṅgabhūpāla, who directly draw upon Bharata, aid us little. Though one would naturally think that Abhinavagupta also is no exception in this respect, one really gets clear insight by an examination of the exposition in the Abhinavabhāratī.

The origin of the Vṛttis—the different stories.

Chapter XXII of the Nāṭya Śāstra gives the story of the origin of the four Vṛttis from the fight between Mahāviṣṇu and the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha.[1] Having swept away all the worlds in water, Viṣṇu was lying on Śeṣa when the two demons, in the pride of their strength approached him uttering bravadoes. They boasted, taunted and began to fight with Viṣṇu. Brahmā was all the time hearing their taunting and he submitted to Viṣṇu that the wordy warfare, the Bhāratī Vṛtti, must be ended and that the two demons must be killed. Viṣṇu told Brahmā that he wanted to tolerate some wordy fight for the sake of creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for the Kāvya (*i.e.*) text of the drama.

तयोर्नैकप्रकाराणि श्रुत्वा वाक्यानि गर्जतोः ।
किञ्चिदाकम्पितमना द्रुहिणो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥
किमिदं भारती वृत्तिः वाग्भिरेव प्रवर्तते ।
उत्तरोत्तरसंवृद्धा नन्विमौ निधनं नय ॥
पितामहवचः श्रुत्वा प्रोवाच मधूसूदनः ।
बाढं कार्य[व्य]क्रियाहेतोः[2] भारतीयं विनिर्मिता ॥
भाषतो वाक्यभूयिष्ठा भारतीयं भविष्यति । XXII. 6—9.

This purpose of creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for speech comprising of the text of the drama having been finished Viṣṇu rose and fought the two demons with beautiful movements of his

1. XXII. Śls. 2—20.

2. The K. M. edn. also reads here only कार्य for काव्य which is the correct reading. It is further supported by the following line appearing later—

'मया काव्यक्रियाहेतोः प्रक्षिप्ता द्रुहिणाज्ञया ।' XXII. 23, Kāśī edn.

Śiṅgabhūpāla also, who closely follows Bharata's text, has here

'इदं काव्यक्रियाहेतोः भारती निर्मिता ध्रुवम् ।' I, 250.

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limbs. Out of this *action* of fight, out of the gestures of his limbs rose the two Vṛttis, Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī.

वल्गितैश्शार्ङ्गधनुषस्तीव्रैर्दीप्तकरैरथ ।
सत्त्वाधिकैरसंभ्रान्तैस्सात्त्वती तत्र निर्मिता ॥
संरम्भवेगबहुलैः नानाचारीसमुत्थितैः ।
नियुद्धकरणैश्चित्रैः निर्मितारभटी ततः ॥ Śls. 12 and 14.

In the midst of fighting, while Viṣṇu was passing from the Sāttvatī to the Ārabhaṭī (*i. e.*) from forceful action to more forceful and terrible action, he got excited and his long locks of hair got loose, which he had to tie up. When he tied his hair, his movements were very graceful and out of these graceful movements the Kaiśikī Vṛtti arose.

विचित्रैरङ्गहारैस्तु देवो लीलासमुद्भवैः ।
बबन्ध यच्छिखापाशं कैशिकी तत्र निर्मिता ॥ XXII. 13.

Thus according to Bharata the Kaiśikī arose when Viṣṇu tied up his own locks. But Śiṅgabhūpāla, who bases his text on Bharata makes a change. He says that during the fight, Viṣṇu caught the two demons by their hair with graceful movements and that this catching of the demons by their hair produced the Kaiśikī.

विचित्रैरङ्गहारैश्च हेलया स तदा हरिः ।
यत् तौ बबन्ध केशेषु जाता सा कैशिकी ततः ॥ R. A. S. I. 254—5.

For Bhāratī alone, Bharata takes pains to give another origin, explanation and derivation. Immediately after the end of the wordy warfare, the Bhāratī, Viṣṇu rose and approached the demons to kill them. When this Viṣṇu at the time of Pralaya, with all the worlds in his womb, placed his footsteps and walked, Mother Earth felt his weight, Bhāra [1] From this Bhāra is Bhāratī derived. *See* Śl. 1-12

1. Śiṅgabhūpāla records this derivation also. Vide R. A. S. I. 252—3.

2. Out of Brahmā who was a spectator of this fight between Viṣṇu and Madhu-Kaiṭabha, king Haripāladeva, as we shall see in a further section of this paper, creates in his Nāṭya work Saṅgīta Sudhākara (MS. Mad. MSS. Library), a fifth Vṛtti called Brāhmī for a new Rasa called Brahma-Rasa invented by him.

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After giving this origin of the Vṛttis from the fight between Viṣṇu and Madhu-Kaiṭabha, Bharata gives another account of a Vedic origin of the four Vṛttis.

ऋग्वेदाद्भारती वृत्तिः यजुर्वेदात्तु सात्वती ।
कैशिकी सामवेदाच्च शेषा चाथर्वणात्तथा ॥ XXII. 24.

Śiṅgabhūpāla gives this Vedic derivation of the four Vṛttis also but gives it as a separate view held by some others.

ऋग्वेदाच्च यजुर्वेदात् सामवेदादथर्वणः ।
भारत्याद्याः क्रमाज्जाता इत्यन्ये तु प्रचक्षते ॥ 260.

The account of the origin of the four Vṛttis from the four Vedas is not a separate story given by some others as against the story of their origin from Viṣṇu's fight with Madhu-Kaiṭabha. If only Śiṅgabhūpāla had seen Bharata's text more carefully, he would have realised that the 'Vedic origin' forms a supplementary part of the story of the origin from the fight. For, Bharata says that Brahmā was witnessing the fight and that at the end of the fight he said that the four Vṛttis which arose from it should be deposited in the four Vedas, to be used for drama after the world was created again. At the time of Pralaya, there was the eternal Veda out of which again the world was to be re-created after every Pralaya; and Brahmā deposited the Vṛttis also in the four Vedas, to use them for drama. When the world was again created and drama was first created from the four Vedas, the Vṛttis deposited in them were also brought out for the sake of the drama.

ततो देवेषु (वेदेषु)[1] निक्षिप्तो(प्ता) द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।
पुनर्नाट्यप्रयोगे च नानाभावरसान्विता ॥
वृत्तिसंज्ञा कृता ह्येषा नानाभावरसाश्रया । XXII. 20—21.

It is immediately after this statement that the verse giving the 'Vedic origin' occurs.

The 'Vaiṣṇava story' of the Vṛttis rising from the fight of Viṣṇu with Madhu-Kaiṭabha is perpetuated in many later works. The Viṣṇudharmottara has it. Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśa, in Chap. I, records this story but curiously enough he

1. *See* K. M. edn. XX. 20, p. 222.

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says, that in this fight there arose only three Vṛttis. The fourth, the Bhāratī, he says, is considered by some, as having been invented or introduced by Bharata himself.

मधुकैटभासुराभ्यां नियुद्धमार्गेण युध्यतो विष्णोः ।
वृत्तित्रयं प्रसूतं भरतप्रोक्ता च भारतीत्यपरे ॥ Bhā. Pra. p. 12

Slightly changing this derivation of the Bhāratī, Śiṅgabhūpāla also says that Bhāratī is so called because it is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, actors.

प्रयुक्तत्वेन भरतैः भारतीति निगद्यते । R. A. S. I. 261.

There is another totally different story of the origin of the Vṛttis which Śāradātanaya records here and elsewhere. This tradition explains that the four Vṛttis, together with the four main Rasas to which they are related, sprang from the four faces of Brahmā when he was witnessing Śiva and Pārvatī performing dance.

अपरे तु नाट्यदर्शनसमये कमलोद्भवस्य वदनेभ्यः ।
शृङ्गारादिचतुष्टयसहिता वृत्तीः समाचख्युः ॥ p. 12.

The story is more elaborately given in the third chapter:

तदेतत् प्रेक्षमाणस्य मुखेभ्यो ब्रह्मणः क्रमात् ।
वृत्तिभिस्सह चत्वारः शृङ्गाराद्या विनिस्सृताः ॥
कैशिकीवृत्तितो जज्ञे शृङ्गारः पूर्वतो मुखात् ।
यदाभिनीतं भरतैः सम्यक् त्रिपुरमर्दनम् ॥
सात्वतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे वीरो दक्षिणतो मुखात् ।
अभूद्रारभटीवृत्ते रौद्रः पश्चिमवक्त्रतः ॥
यदाभिनीतं कल्पान्तकर्म शम्भोर्नटैस्तदा ।
भारतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे बीभत्सश्चोत्तराननात् ॥ pp. 56—57.

Wherefrom did Śāradātanaya get this account of the origin of the Vṛttis? The very first chapter of the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra speaks of the Vṛttis and here we hear of some connection between the Vṛttis and Śiva. We are told that at first there were only three Vṛttis, the Bhāratī, the Sāttvatī and the Ārabhaṭī and that Brahmā was laterly asked to add to his drama the Kaiśikī Vṛtti also. Brahmā said that up till then they had only men to

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act, that the Kaiśikī was all delicacy and grace which could be rendered only by beautiful women and that he had seen and enjoyed that Kaiśikī in Nīlakaṇṭha's dance.

मृद्वङ्गहारसंपन्ना रसभावक्रियात्मिका ।
दृष्टा मया भगवतो नीलकण्ठस्य नृत्यतः ॥
कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या शृङ्गाररससंभवा ।
अशक्या पुरुषैस्साधु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनादृते ॥

Then it is that the Apsaras class of beautiful women were created by Brahmā for depicting the Kaiśikī. From this we learn that Kaiśikī is pre-eminently the Vṛtti of females. Hence, according to a remark in the Abhinavabhāratī (p. 22) some previous commentator, Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa or Śaṅkuka, took the text to mean that the dance of Śiva seen by Brahmā refers also to the dance of Pārvatī who dances with Śiva and that, therefore, Brahmā saw the presentation of the Kaiśikī by Pārvatī. This, says Abhinava, is wrong since it is possible for men also to do graceful action. Abhinava here quotes from chap. XXII of the N. S. the verse on the Kaiśikī and shows how Viṣṇu, who is not a female, produced the Kaiśikī by binding the locks. To this point, we shall laterly return while explaining what Kaiśikī is. To return to the story, one expects Bharata, when he comes to the Vṛtti-vikalpādhyāya, to mention again this story of Brahmā having seen the Kaiśikī in Śiva's dance, which is preserved in an elaborated form in Śāradātanaya. Śāradātanaya tells us that this 'Śaiva' origin of the Vṛttis is according to Vyāsa.

व्यासप्रोक्तेन मार्गेण कथयामि यथार्थतः । III. p. 55.

We do not know whether there was any work on Nāṭya current as the production of Vyāsa which gave this different account. Anyway, the Vṛtti-chapter in Bharata, *viz.*, the twenty-second, has no connection with the Vṛtti-story in Chapter I. We have first two main stories of the origin of the Vṛttis, the 'Vaiṣṇava' and the 'Śaiva', both of them being preserved by Śāradātanaya. Of the four Vṛttis, the Bhāratī has four explanations. It is Bhāratī or speech; it is derived from Bhāra or weight; it is so called because it was introduced by sage Bharata; and it is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, the actors. The Kaiśikī, according to the first chapter of Bharata came later. The

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stories are by themselves beautiful and they have symbolic ideas, working out the suggestions from which, we will, in a further section, reconstruct the nature of each Vṛtti.

What is Vṛtti?

Bharata says in the Daśarūpakādhyāya that Vṛttis are the 'Mothers of Kāvya'. He also calls them laterly as "Mothers of Nāṭya".

सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां वृत्तयो मातृकाः स्मृताः । XX. 4.

एवमेते बुधैर्ज्ञेया वृत्तयो नाट्यमातरः । XXII. 64.

Nāṭya is the imitation of action and each action has its characteristic mood or atmosphere or disposition, with respect to the man in action as well as to the Sahṛdaya who sees the Nāṭya. This mood or atmosphere or disposition is Vṛtti. So it is that Bharata says that dramatic action or drama is born of Vṛtti. Vṛtti is, so to say, the bed of drama. Different types of drama present different kinds of actions, actions as characterised by differing atmosphere. So Bharata says that Vṛtti is also that factor which differentiates one type of drama from another.

आभ्यो (वृत्तिभ्यः) विनिस्सृतं ह्येतत् दशरूपं प्रयोगतः । XX. 4.

The ten kinds of drama are derived from the differences due to these four Vṛttis. The word **'प्रयोगतः'** in the above quotation occurs even in the first verse of the chapter and Abhinava has some discussion over its import.

कथयिष्याम्यहं विप्राः दशरूपविकल्पनम् ।
नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः ॥

Bharata means that the ten kinds of Rūpakas are different by name, by Karma and by Prayoga. What are Karma and Prayoga? Karma is the plot or Itivṛtta, the hero and the heroine, their nature, etc., which differ with each drama. Prayoga may mean the other features of each type of drama not covered by the word Karma. As for instance, the Bhāṇa has its own Prayoga. It is carried on with one actor with the devise of the convention called Ākāśa-Bhāṣita. This is the meaning which naturally suggests itself to us on reading Bharata. From the text of Bharata which again uses the word Prayoga in the verse which

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says that all the ten types of dramas are based on the Vṛttis which are the Nāṭya-Mātṛkās,

आभ्यो विनिस्सृतं ह्येतत् दशरूपं प्रयोगतः ।

we must take Prayoga as the factor which differentiates the ten dramas on the basis of the differences in the Vṛttis in each. Though, as we shall see presently, the Vṛtti-concept can divide the ten dramas only into two big classes, it is possible to show that with each type of drama the Vṛtti differs. From the Abhinava-bhāratī we see that such an interpretation of the word Prayoga was given by some commentator. Abhinava does not accept it. He includes the factor of differentiation called 'Vṛtti' in 'Karma' itself, which he takes to mean comprehensively Lakṣaṇa. This is intelligible, for the Itivṛtta is inseparably fused with Rasa, and Rasa with Vṛtti. So all the characteristics making the Lakṣaṇa of a type, including the Vṛtti are comprehended under the head Karma.

वृत्तिविभागस्तु लक्षण एव अनुप्रविष्ट इति ।

Abhi. Bhā Mad. Ms. Vol. II, p. 440.

Abhinava's interpretation of the word Prayoga is ingenious. He says—

'प्रकृष्ट उचितः योगः परस्परसंबन्धः, यथा प्रकरणनाटकलक्षणयोगात् नाटिकेति ।' *Ibid.*

Thus Abhinava means by Prayoga suitable adaptation, something like Ūha, as in the case of the Nāṭikā which, though characterised by some individuality, is derived mainly from the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa.[1] According to this interpretation of Abhinava Rūpakas first get differentiated by their Karma (*i. e.*) Lakṣaṇa consisting of the nature of the plot, type and number of major and minor characters, Rasa, Vṛtti, etc. and then again get multiplied in a different manner into infinite varities like Nāṭikā, Saṭṭaka, Toṭaka, etc. This further multiplication is by Prayoga, by mixing up certain features derived from two or more major types and such other ways of adaptation. The words तथा चैव

1. For the nature of the Nāṭikā, vide Śls. 60—64. Chap. XX N. S.

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in the second line of the first verse 'नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः' is very ingeniously interpreted by Abhinava that those words indicate that the classification of dramas through Prayoga stands on a footing different from that through Karma. Prayoga is a comprehensive and fecund principle denoting the infinite possibility of creations of eternally varying types of dramas, deriving their features from, but improving upon or changing, slightly or more, features of existing types. In such a manner are derived the Nāṭikā and other types like Toṭaka, Saṭṭaka, etc., which Kohala added to the Daśarūpa of Bharata.

'तेनैव प्रयोगप्रकारेण अन्योऽपि परस्परसंबन्धवैचित्र्यकृतो भेद उत्प्रेक्ष्य इत्यर्थः ।' Abir. Bhā. Ibid.

Abhinava adds that by such an interpretation he has sactioned 'प्रामाण्य of Bharata' to later types like Toṭaka, etc., which Kohala has enumerated.

'उक्तव्याख्याने तु कोहलादिलक्षिततोटकसट्टकरासकादिसङ्ग्रहः ।'

Ibid. p. 441.

Coming back to the distinction of the Rūpakas through the Vṛttis,—Bharata gives here an analogy from the Samāna Tantra (*i. e.*) Music.

जातिभिः श्रुतिभिश्चैव स्वरा ग्रामत्वमागताः ।
यथा तथा वृत्तिभेदैः काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति हि ॥
ग्रामौ पूर्णस्वरौ द्वौ तु यथा वै षड्जमध्यमौ ।
सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नौ काव्यबन्धौ तथा त्विमौ ॥
ज्ञेयं प्रकरणं चैव तथा नाटकमेव च । XX. 5—7.

Abhinava thus comments on these verses:

इह त्वन्नेन दृष्टान्तेनैतदुक्तं भवति—स्वरसमुदायरूपत्वाविशेषेऽपि स्वराणां पर्यायतः प्राथम्य-प्राधान्य-अल्पत्व-भूयस्त्व-पूर्णत्व-अपूर्णत्व-आरोहावरोह-अन्त्यत्व-मध्यत्वादि-प्रविभागभेदैः यथा अन्यः षड्जग्रामाद्य (मोऽन्यो) मध्यमग्रामः, तथैव वृत्तीनां स्वरस्थानीयानां प्राथम्यप्राधान्यादीनां दशकेन रूपकं रूपकान्तरात् भिद्यते । यथा चतुश्रुतिः पञ्चमः त्रिश्रुतिश्च भवन् ग्रामान्यत्वं करोति तथा सैव वृत्तिः श्रुतिस्थानीयैरङ्गैः क्वचित्संपूर्णा क्वचिदूनेत्येवमपि रूपकविभाग इत्येतत् 'जातिभिः श्रुतिभिः' इति द्वयेन दर्शितम् ।' *Ibid.* p. 443.

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The analogy gives us three kinds of classification of dramas. The scheme of Daśarūpaka first falls into two classes called पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs and अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs. Even as the Ṣaḍja and Madhyama Grāmas are characterised by the presence of all Svaras, and are thus पूर्णस्वरग्रामs, so also the first two types called Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs because, in them, all the four Vṛttis are present. These two types represent the perfection among the Daśarūpakas. They are big and they envisage large action, comprising of intricate themes with a wealth of varied incidents. Such varied action of differing nature means the presence of all the four Vṛttis. As different from these two the remaining eight are minor dramas, the scope of the whose action is restricted. They are अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs. The second classification is on the principle of प्राधान्य. The main Rasa in most available specimens of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa is Śṛṅgāra, though, as Aṅga-Rasas coming up like Vyabhicārins, we have almost all the other Rasas. Thus though at various places we have all the Vṛttis in the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, by reason of which they are called पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs they are, on the whole, characterised by the predominance of one Rasa and one Vṛtti only. Whatever Sañcāri-Rasas and the corresponding Sañcāri-Vṛttis may appear in the course of the drama, there is only one Rasa and its Vṛtti that stand out as the main Sthāyin—Rasa and Vṛtti. Says Bharata at the end of the Vṛttyadhyāya—

न ह्येकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः ।
भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिर्वृत्तिरेव वा ॥

सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्बहु ।
स मन्तव्यो रसस्स्थायी शेषास्सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥ XXII. 67—68

Thus besides being पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, on the basis of the Nyāya 'प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशा भवन्ति', can be called कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकs. The other eight, besides being अपूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs, are also अकैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकs.

भाणस्समवकारश्च वीथी चेहामृगस्तथा ।
उत्सृष्टिकाङ्को व्यायोगो डिमः प्रहसनं तथा ॥
कैशिकीवृत्तिहीनानि रूपाण्येतानि कारयेत् । XX. 7—8.

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It is not said here that these dramas do not have the Kaiśikī. Bharata says that Kaiśikī is the Vṛtti of Hāsya also besides Śṛṅgāra. Kaiśikī cannot thus be absent in the Bhāṇa or the Prahasana. The Samavakāra also has it but what exactly is meant by Bharata is that Kaiśikī is not their main and characterising Vṛtti. Says Abhinava—

'तत्कैशिकीविहीनत्वेऽपि यथा शृङ्गारयोगः समवकारे तथा तल्लक्षणं(णे) वर्णयिष्यामः ।'

If both the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa agree in respect of being पूर्णवृत्तिरूपक and कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपक, wherein do they differ? Here comes the third principle of classification based on the Vṛttyaṅgas. It is to point out this third classification, says Abhinava, that Bharata said that the Grāmas differ through the Svaras and Śrutis. The Vṛttyaṅgas are similar to Śrutis, Vṛttis being similar to Svaras. Not only the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa between themselves, but each Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa from other Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas, are bound to vary in plot Rasa, and the Vyabhicāri-Rasas or Aṅga-Rasas. Therefore there is bound to be a वृत्तियोगवैचित्र्य, variety even in the Kaiśikī which commonly characterises the two. In one the Kaiśikī may be Pūrṇa with all its Aṅgas (*i.e.*) might be amply represented by its many varieties, while in another, a few Aṅgas may be absent and in still another, certain other Aṅgas may be present. Even in respect of Lakṣaṇa, according to the definition in Bharata, the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are related[1] in some respects. Their distinction is due to the comparative predominance of certain features. It is not that the features of one type are not available in another. The Rūpakas get their respective names owing to the predominance in them of those features. Slight features of the Nāṭaka may be found in the Prakaraṇa; features of these two are found in the Nāṭikā; the feature that prominently characterises the Prahasana gets into the Nāṭaka through the Vidūṣaka and through the Vidūṣaka, the Śakāra and other characters into a Prakaraṇa like the Mṛcchakaṭika. Thus, as in Lakṣaṇa, so also in Vṛtti, there will be overlapping and overflow, संप्लव.

1. यन्नाटके मयोक्तं वस्तु शरीरं रसाश्रयोपेतम् ।
तत्प्रकरणेऽपि योज्यं केवलमुत्पाद्यवस्तु स्यात् ॥ XXII, 51, N. S.

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Another point to be noted in the classification of dramas on the principle of Vṛtti-Vaicitrya is this. It is a rule that the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa only can be पूर्णवृत्तिरूपकs or कैशिकीवृत्तिरूपकs. So also it is a rule that none of the other eight can be either. The conclusion must not therefore be drawn that all Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas must have all the four Vṛttis. We have specimens of Nāṭakas which are Apūrṇa-Vṛtti-Rūpakas. The Mudrārākṣasa and the lost Kṛtyārāvaṇa are two Nāṭakas devoid of Kaiśikī. Says Abhinava—

"तेन वृत्तीनां विनियोगसमुच्चयविकल्पैः, समुच्चयैर्वृत्त्यङ्गानां च, बहवो रूपकभेदा भवन्ति । * * * * तत्र 'नाटकप्रकरणे एव सर्ववृत्तिपूर्णे' इति नियमः, न तु विपर्ययः । मुद्राराक्षसस्य कैशिकीहीनस्य कृत्यारावणस्य च दर्शनात् ।" Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 444.

Having explained how Bharata relates Vṛtti and drama, we shall return to a consideration of the meaning of the concept of Vṛtti. Abhinava is the only writer who has explained that concept well. It is for us to carry his views further. For Abhinava left the Vṛttis explained rather incompletely. He ridiculed those who held to five Vṛttis or two only and on the other side, contended against those also who held the Vṛttis only in Nāṭya, or even in Nāṭya and Kāvya only. Just as the Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas, which are so many points in the unfoldment of a plot or action have been applied from Drama to Mahākāvya in general, just as the theory of Rasa, the greatest and best theory answering to the facts of both poetry as well as its relish by the cultured Sahṛdaya, has been introduced from the realm of Nāṭya into poetry in general, so also, with as much propriety, rationale and significance, has the idea of Vṛtti been brought into Kāvya in general from the field of drama. Vṛtti is from the root *Vṛt—Vart*. It means the state of mind or disposition. It is the atmosphere of the thing. Bhoja gives a good definition of Vṛtti.

या विकाशेऽथ विक्षेपे सङ्कोचे विस्तरे तथा ।
चेतसो वर्तयित्री स्यात् सा वृत्तिः * * ॥ S. K. Ā. II. 34.

Nāṭya is त्रैलोक्यानुकरण and so is Kāvya and other arts also. With the varying situations, man gets into varying moods. Each situation gives a different physical pose and a different mental disposition. The shifting colour, the very atmosphere of an emotional state is Vṛtti. From world this Vṛtti is applied to the study of

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drama. Each kind of plot, each Rasa, each Nāyaka and Nāyikā and each action of theirs has its characteristic Vṛtti. The very mode of action or the very colour of the Rasa or the very atmosphere of a state is Vṛtti. So it is that Ānanda calls Vṛtti so comprehensively as Vyavahāra.[1] Dhanañjaya describes it as 'तद्व्यापारात्मिका वृत्तिः' (*i.e.*) according to Dhanika, 'प्रवृत्तिरूपः नेतृव्यापारस्वभावो वृत्तिः' It is the character of the action or doings of the actor. Tilaka calls it as the Vyāpāra related to Rasa. 'वृत्तिः वर्तनम्, रसविषयो व्यापारः'.[2] It is thus not correct to say that a certain Vṛtti is to be added to a hero, to his action or to his Rasa. For Vṛtti is the very essence of the actor, his action and his Rasa. So it is that Alaka says of it—

वृत्तयो भारतीप्रभृतयः अवस्थाविशेषाः ।[3]

And Dhanika says--

'वृत्त्यात्मकत्वाच्च रसानाम् ।'[4]

So, Vṛtti is the name of the disposition or character of any verbal or physical or mental activity of man placed in any state of action. Kallinātha succintly puts its general definition, of course, basing himself on Abhinava.

'वृत्तिर्नाम वाङ्मनःकायजा चेष्टा पुरुषार्थोपयोगिनीति सामान्य-लक्षणम् ।'[5]

Abhinavagupta describes Vṛtti thus—

"तस्माद्व्यापारः पुमर्थसाधको वृत्तिः, स च सर्वत्र [वा] वर्ण्यते इत्यतो वृत्तः(त्तिः) काव्यस्य मातृका इति न किञ्चित् व्यापारशून्यं वर्णनीयमस्ति ।"

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. II, p. 480.

"एतच्चासत् । आस्तां काव्यार्थः, सर्वो हि संसारः वृत्तिचतुष्केन व्याप्त इत्युक्तं प्रथम एवाध्यायेऽस्माभिः ।" *Ibid.* p. 441.

He says in his commentary on the Vṛtti-chapter:

"यद्यपि कायवाङ्मनसां चेष्टा एव सह वैचित्र्येण वृत्तयः, ताश्च सम्म-जीवलोकव्यापिन्यः, अनिदंप्रथमताप्रवृत्ताः प्रवाहेण वहन्ति * * * ।"

Ibid. Vol. III, p. 1.

1. Dhva. Ā. III. 33.
2. K. A. S. S. Vyākhyā.
3. Alaka's commentary on Ratnākara's Haravijaya, p. 29, K. M. edn.
4. D. R. A. III.
5. S. R. Vyākhyā—Kalānidhi, VII.

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"सर्वैव क्रिया वृत्तिचतुष्कव्याप्ता ।" *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 3.

Rāmacandra, in his Nāṭyadarpaṇa, says, of course drawing upon Abhinava, that if Bharata speaks of the Vṛttis with reference to Nāṭya, it is only to indicate. Vṛtti pertains as much to un-acted poetry. There is no action as is not produced from or on the background of some Vṛtti. The Vṛtti as the characteristic mood of a situation, action or Rasa permeates the poet or dramatist and out of that mood appropriate creation proceeds.

"नाट्य इति प्रस्तावापेक्षम्, तैन अनभिनेयेऽपि काव्ये वृत्तयो भवन्त्येव । न हि व्यापारशून्यं किञ्चिद्वर्णनीयमस्ति ।" N. D. p. 152.

So it is that Bharata called the Vṛttis as the 'Mothers of Nāṭya' or 'Mothers of Kāvya'.

"नाट्यस्य अभिनेयकाव्यस्य मातर इव मातरः । आभ्यो हि वर्णनीयत्वेन हृदये व्यवस्थिताभ्यः काव्यमुत्पद्यते । N. D. p. 152.

If Vṛtti is such it naturally follows that it is varied and infinite. Surely it is so. Bharata recognises this fact. But, as in poetry, even while accepting the individuality of the style of each poet, an objective determination of a few styles is possible, and similarly as in the manner of dress etc., which Bharata calls Pravṛtti and which is infinitely various with its difference in each man, there is a possibility to classify broadly the provincial manners of dress etc., so also, in respect of Vṛtti, for the sake of concrete Vyavahāra in the study of Nāṭya, it is possible to examine all actions and arrive at four large modes of actions. Bharata thus explains himself for giving the Vṛttis as four only in number, in chapter XIV. While describing the related concept of Pravṛtti, Rājaśekhara sums up Bharata[1] and says—

"चतुष्टयी गतिः प्रवृत्तीनां च, देशानां पुनरानन्त्यम्, तत्कथमिव कोऽन्योऽन्त परिग्रह इत्याचार्याः । अनन्तानपि देशान् चतुर्धैव आकल्प्य कल्पयन्ति ।" K. M.

The four Vṛttis given by Bharata are the Bhāratī, Sāttvatī, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. Are these four enough to explain all possible dramatic situations? It seems that they are quite sufficient. Wherever action tends to speech as the prominent

1. N. S. XIV, p. 165, Kāśī edn.

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mode of expression (for speech also as verbal action is one kind of action, the Vācika-Abhinaya) of emotion we call that phase of emotional expression or acting as the Bhāratī Vṛtti. Besides this speech, the only other thing seen in drama is action. It is of two kinds: of the limbs (*i.e.*) gross or very clearly perceptible physical action called the Āṅgika-Abhinaya and of the mind (*i.e.*) subtle or very minute emotional action called the Sāttvikābhinaya which is shown on the face.[1] The latter is acting par-excellence. So situations of such actions are separately appreciated as the finer aspects of acting and are called the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti. The remaining part of action is physical or Āṅgika action. Now, this very clearly perceptible action of the limbs varies mainly in two ways, to speak broadly. In forceful situations of anger, fight etc., action is vigorous, wild and terrible. Such action or Āṅgika-Abhinaya is called the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti. As a contrast to such situations there appear situations of the essence of grace and delicacy, exchange of sweet words of love, gaiety, song and dance. Here the actions are graceful and delicate and are called the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. These four Vṛttis thus comprehend the whole field of drama as well as the world. To adopt the words of Abhinava quoted above, Bhāratī is वाक्चेष्टा or वाचिकाभिनय or the पाठ्य, Sāttvatī is मनश्चेष्टा or सात्त्विकाभिनय; the realm of कायचेष्टा is of two kinds, delicate and wild; it is either कैशिकी or आरभटी.

Though we have simply and almost correctly explained the meaning of these four Vṛttis, we encounter many a problem in the actual study of these Vṛttis as defined by Bharata and by the later writers following Bharata. We have got to understand how the concept of Vṛtti or the separate concepts of Kaiśikī etc. grew, what the names Kaisikī etc. mean, whether the classification of Vṛttis into these four is scientific, and whether these four are really sufficient to explain all possible dramatic situations or whether there is a necessity to create more Vṛttis and classify Vṛtti in a different manner. The problems mentioned last are tackled by Udbhaṭa who revolutionises the concept, the number and names of his Vṛttis being different. Other writers also have to say something as regards those problems to which we shall come last. Now to a consideration

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1. कण्ठेनालम्बयेद्गीतं हस्तेनार्थं प्रदर्शयेत्।
चक्षुर्भ्यां दर्शयेत् भावं पादाभ्यां तालमाचरेत् ॥

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of each of the four Vṛttis one by one beginning from Bhāratī.

In the story of Viṣṇu's fight with Madhu-Kaiṭabha, the latter began to taunt Viṣṇu and for a time there was a verbal or wordy warfare. Brahmā called this the Bhāratī-Vṛtti and Viṣṇu also said that he indulged in speech for creating the Bhāratī Vṛtti for Kāvya and Nāṭya. This is quite sensible for Bhāratī means speech. Says Bharata—

भाषतो वाक्यभूयिष्ठा भारतीयं भविष्यति । XXII. 9.

किमिदं भारतीवृत्तिः वाग्भिरेव प्रवर्तते । XXII. 7.

The characteristic called speech constitutes the differentia of the Bhāratī Vṛtti. This has not been misunderstood by any later writer in the main. All speech or Pāṭhya in a drama is Bhāratī. So Bhāratī is called Śabda-Vṛtti and the other three are distinguished from it as Artha-Vṛttis. Says Śiṅgabhūpāla—

आसां च मध्ये वृत्तीनां शब्दवृत्तिस्तु भारती ।

तिस्रोऽर्थवृत्तयश्शेषाः तच्चतस्रो हि वृत्तयः ॥ R. A. S. I. 286.

Abhinava himself has briefly stated 'पाठ्यप्रधाना भारती'[1] and 'भारती वाग्वृत्तिः'[2]. Bhāratī being speech, its real and essential nature is not represented at all in the 'Śaiva' story of the origin of the four Vṛttis recorded by Śāradātanaya. As speech it is not related especially to anyone Rasa. Bharata no doubt says that Bhāratī is the Vṛtti of Karuṇa and Adbhuta.

भारती चापि विज्ञेया करुणाद्भुतसंश्रया । XXII. 66.p.

No doubt there is in Karuṇa a large amount of weeping, वाग्विलाप and similarly one grows eloquent when he is struck with wonder. But we cannot understand how such or so much amount of speech that characterises either Karuṇa or Adbhuta is not found in other Rasas also. Further even in Karuṇa one does not weep at all if the grief is too much. He has to act grief then more by Sāttvikābhinaya than by Vācikābhinaya. Even the weeping or the Bhāratī in the form of weeping is affected by the circumstances. For Prakṛti and Prakṛti-Aucitya are the essence of poetry and drama and a hero of superior mould—Uttama Prakṛti, will weep little. Even so in Adbhuta. One is

1. Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS. Vol. III, p. 5,
2. Gaek. edn. Vol. I, p. 20.

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struck dumb with wonder and there is no Bhāratī at all. From the point of view of Prakṛti-Aucitya, the greater men do not wonder; wonder is the common sentiment of women and fools according to Bharata and Abhinava. Thus there is little sense in relating Bhāratī to any Rasa. There is no meaning in giving it as the Vṛtti of either Karuṇa or Adbhuta as Bharata does. So Śāradātanaya is incorrect when he says—

भारतीवृत्तितो जज्ञे बीभत्सश्चोत्तराननात् ।[1] p. 57.

but is very correct when he says earlier that the Bhāratī cannot be related to any Rasa but is present everywhere.

वृत्तिस्सर्वत्र भारती । p.12.

Nowhere can we find any writer who has totally forgotten that Bhāratī is speech, that Bhāratī is the Śabda-Vṛtti as contrasted with the other three which are Artha-Vṛttis. But Bharata himself unnecessarily introduces a second derivation of the word Bhāratī which goes directly contrary to the very notion of Bhāratī as accepted by him. Bharata, for a while, forgets himself and forgets that a little-while ago, he has given Bhāratī as Śabda-Vṛtti and in his etymological enthusiasm and mythological enthusiasm says that after finishing the wordy warfare, Bhāratī, Viṣṇu rose and walked to fight the demons thus creating in the *heavy* footsteps he laid, the Bhāratī-Vṛtti.

योधयामास तौ दैत्यौ युद्धमार्गविशारदौ ॥
भूमिसंस्थानसंयोगैः पदन्यासैस्तदा हरेः ।
अतिभारोऽभवद्भूमेः भारती तत्र निर्मिता ॥

This means that Bhāratī also is an Artha Vṛtti and shows us how, by venturing this contradictory and purely speculative etymology, Bharata himself is not very sure of the meanings of the names of such technical terms like Bhāratī, Kaiśikī etc. We shall presently see that the Kaiśikī is derived from Keśa &c.

1. Śāradātanaya is doubly wrong here. Firstly he is wrong in relating Bhāratī to Rasa and secondly in relating it to the Bībhatsa among the Rasas. This has no warrant in Bharata who gives for Bhāratī Karuṇa and Adbhuta. Śāradātanaya had to give here Bībhatsa because Karuṇa and Adbhuta are not in the list of four Prakṛti-Rasas and the other three Prakṛti-Rasas are already distributed to the other three Vṛttis. Most of the later writers have made another mistake as *re.* Bharatī, while attempting to avoid this mistake of relating it to Rasa. They have considered it as the Vṛtti of the Prologue only.

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hair! These are, as Abhinava remarks, explanations based on mere verbal similarity. He says—

'भार इत्यक्षरवर्णसाम्यादपि निर्वचनं दर्शयन्—' [1] Vol. III, p. 3.

Yāska suggests such an etymology to one who wants to derive a word somehow and explain it.

'न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात् अप्यक्षरवर्णसामान्यान्निर्ब्रूयात्। N. II. 1.

These are surely delirious grammar filling up some gap created by a loss of tradition. This leads us on to an enquiry of the real nature and origin of the Bhāratī Vṛtti. As noted at the beginning, Śāradātanaya separates the Bhāratī from the other three which alone, according to some, were produced in Viṣṇu's fight with the two demons. Bhāratī, he says, is so called because it is भरतप्रोक्त—invented or introduced by Bharata, the Sage-author of Nāṭya. Or he may mean, as Śiṅgabhūpāla means in an explicit statement that Bhāratī is the Vṛtti of the Bharatas, the actors.

प्रयुक्तत्वेन भरतैः भारतीति निगद्यते। R. A. S. I. 261.

Bharata himself says elsewhere—

"स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः पयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः"

These two significant explanations suggest a train of ideas. From Rājaśekhara[2] we know that Bharata is the author of drama, Daśarūpa while Nandikeśvara is the author of Rasa. Probably Nandikeśvara, in whose name there are many works on dance, was also the author of dance, because he is one of the attendants of Śiva who with his consort Pārvatī, is the first exponent of dance. Dance existed at first and Drama came afterwards. Therefore the three Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvatī existed already with reference to Dance, even like the three kinds of Abhinaya, Sāttvika, Āṅgika and Āhārya. With the introduction of speech Dance was perfected into Drama (*i.e.*) with speech came the fourth Abhinaya called Vācikābhinaya and the fourth Vṛtti called the Bhāratī.

This question can be further inquired into with reference to the history of the development of Drama. Drama means two

1. Cf. Śāradātanaya, Bha. Pra. II. p. 50.
अप्यक्षराणां सामान्यात् निरुध्यन्ते च केचन।
एवं निरुक्तकारैस्तु स्वशास्त्रे निर्णयः कृतः॥

2. K. M. I. 1, p. 1.

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main things, speech and action. Naturally these two had separate history in the beginning. Speech or Bhāratī was available at first as recitals of heroic legends, of epics etc. Action was separately developing in dance and pantomime shows, which were dumb. The former is represented by that stage in the history of the development of drama which we can call, on the basis of the evidence in the Mahābhāṣya as the Grānthika stage. The latter refers to that stage which can be similarly called the Śaubhika stage. Those who merely danced or exhibited action were probably called by the name 'Naṭas' while those who had the Bhāratī or the speech or recital were called by the name 'Bharatas'. Perhaps the Bharatas or the ancient reciters were the Vedic race of Bharatas.[1] When the two gradually joined together, the perfect drama was reached and Bharata and Naṭa became synonymous, meaning actor. The former signified not only speech but action also and the latter not action only but speech also.

How did speech or recital slowly develop into drama? There are some evidences, shedding light on this point, in the scheme of Daśarūpa itself. The Daśarūpa attains its climax of perfection in the first two dramas, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. The former is characterised by a heroic theme and the latter by a presentation of ordinary men of society. These two main threads or tendencies developed from two distinct dramatic germs, the former from the recital of the doings of the heroes, the epics and the latter from a dramatic germ which persists in the Daśarūpaka in the type called Vīthī. The Prahasana also, to begin with, had great resemblances with the Vīthī, with its comic sense more pronounced. Bharata mentions two types of Vīthī, one with one actor or character and the other with two, the former perhaps being the earlier. For it is this historical fact that is meant by Bharata's dictum that in a Vīthī the actors shall be one or two.[2] The Vīthī comprehends all kinds of character, men of noble mind,

1. Similarly the minstrels were perhaps people from Magadha, they being called Māgadhas. Another similar instance is the name of the puppets Pāñcālikas, which perhaps, as Dr. Keith suggests (p. 53 Skr. Dr.), were made in the Pāñcāla country. *Vide also* Dr. Keith, Skr. Dr. p. 30.

2. *Vide* Bharata XX, 116—135.

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low men and those who are midway between the two. It is said to have all the Rasas and to develop through thirteen kinds of itself called its Aṅgas. An examination of these thirteen so-called Aṅgas, as also of the remaining description of the Vīthī shows that the Vīthī is either a recital or narration by one man of a number of humorous witticisms or a dialogue between two full of word-play, prattling of nonsense, ingenious invention of meanings to apparently nonsensical words, exchange of witty remarks, beating another by one's witty words and so on. That the comic thread forms the essense of the Vīthī is shown by the actual occurrence of the word हास्य often in the definitions of these thirteen kinds of Vīthī.[1] It is not far from the Vīthī with two actors to the Prahasana. From the Prahasana we pass to the Prakaraṇa by slow stages. Both the Prahasana and Prakaraṇa have more than one variety, making provision for low characters as well as noble ones.[2] Bharata himself has a line in the description of the Prahasana which lights up its early history and its connection with the Vīthī. He says at the end of the description of the Prahasana—

उद्भात्यकादिभिरिदं वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् ।

Thus the 'Miśra' variety of the Prahasana helps our inquiry a good deal. Thus one line of ideas in the Daśarūpa scheme revolves round men of the society and the comic.[3] The other line is the heroic. We hear in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata that the first dramas that were staged were a Samavakāra, the Asura Vijaya[4] or Amṛta Mathana[5] and a Ḍima called Tripuradāha.[6] These smaller types celebrating the deeds of the Gods, along with epic poetry, slowly developed into the Nāṭaka. Thus the two perfected types of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa were achieved. But during the course of their perfection, there was a

1. Perhaps Vīthī was so called because it was shown on the highway as a simple form of entertainment.

2. *Vide* Bharata, XX. 48—59 and 105—110.

3. That some of the earliest specimens of drama were comic and satiric is known from the last chapter of the N. S. XXXVI. 31—36. The Bharatas indulged too much in making fun of the higher castes, as a result of which they lost their dignity. The legend curses them to become Śūdras for ridiculing the Brahmins too much.

4. N. S. I, 59.

5. " IV, 2.

6. " " 10.

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mutual exchange of features for the sake of attaining variety of interest. Thus the Nāṭaka gave some of its features of nobility and dignity to the Prakaraṇa and saved it from being merely a play with courtezans etc. The Prakaraṇa gave the Nāṭaka the comic relief which it needed. When these two became perfect, specimens of these arose more and more. Though Prahasana by itself could survive, the Vīthī[1] could not. The features which characterised the two had entered into the greater idea of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa to perfect them. So it is that we find Bharata saying that two of the varieties of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti are the Vīthī and the Prahasana.

भेदास्तस्यास्तु विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारोऽङ्गत्वभागताः ।
प्ररोचनामुखं चैव वीथी प्रहसनं तथा ॥ XXII. 26.

And by these two, he certainly refers only to the two types of dramas called Vīthī and Prahasana described in the Daśarūpakādhyāya, for, while describing one by one the above-given four Aṅgas of the Bhāratī, he says that he need not define once again the Vīthī and the Prahasana which have been already described in the Daśarūpādhyāya.

लक्षणं पूर्वमुक्तं तु वीथ्याः प्रहसनस्य च । XXII. 36.

The writing of Vīthī is possible even today as a separate kind of entertainment, which will look like the performance of a modern Vikaṭa-Kavi or the comic genius or that of a ventriloquist and narrator of jokes and comic short stories. In such a

1. Few later writers ever knew an instance of Vīthī and did not know the example they were traditionally citing, as for instance the Vakula Vīthī which Śāradātanaya and Viśvanatha cite. Act I of the Mālatī-Mādhava is called Vakula Vīthī, because of the scene of action there which is the path running by the side of a Vakula tree in the temple of Kāma. Certain dramas have such names for each of the acts. This Vakula Vīthī (Act I of M. M.) has nothing to do with the type of drama called Vīthī. But so much is the later writers' ignorance of any old specimen of the dramatic type called Vīthī that Jagaddhara, Commentator on the M. M. takes Act I of M. M. as a specimen of the Vīthī and quotes at the end of his commentary on Act I the definition of the Vīthī type. This is all the more wonderful for Jagaddhara is learned in Bharata Śāstra and has also himself written a Nāṭya treatise called Saṅgīta Sarvasva which he quotes in his commentary on Bhoja's Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa and which Rucipati, Rāghava Bhaṭṭa and others alse quote.

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case the Vīthī will completely be speech or the Bhāratī-Vṛtti, even as the type called Bhāṇa is. Even in Prahasana, which type abounds in exchange of comic speech, there is much of the Bhāratī. Besides this significance, another historical significance in Bharata mentioning the Vīthī and the Prahasana as two types of the Bhāratī is the fact that those two in some imperfect form were the earliest types of dramatic performances with speech as their distinguishing mark.

When we come to later works we find that the Bhāratī is said to be the Vṛtti of the Prastāvanā and not of the drama proper. The Inducement, the mentioning of the names of the poet and his drama, the extolling of the merits of the actors—these forming part of the Prastāvanā are merely giving information for inducement and as such are attended by little action, whereby they can be called the Bhāratī-Vṛtti. But one must understand that Bhāratī as speech cannot be restricted to the Prastāvanā only but, as Śāradātanaya says, is present everywhere. Śiṅgabhūpāla says that Bhāratī is not defined along with others and as being an Aṅga of the Prastāvanā shall be described along with it.

'प्रस्तावनोपयोगित्वात् साङ्गं तत्रैव लक्ष्यते ।' R. A. S. I. 261.

Dhanika says that in drama proper the Vṛttis are only three and that the Bhāratī pertains only to the Prologue.

'तिस्र एवैता अर्थवृत्तयः । भारती तु शब्दवृत्तिः आमुखसंग[खाङ्ग]त्वात् तत्रैव वाच्या ।'

Dhanañjaya says while describing the Prastāvanā.

ऋतुं कञ्चिदुपादाय भारतीं वृत्तिमाश्रयेत् । R. III.4

But this restriction of the Bhāratī to the Prologue is meaningless. It is due to a misunderstanding of Bharata who says that the Prarocanā and the Āmukha forming the Prologue are two kinds of Bhāratī. This can be granted being intelligible as we have shown above. An explanation of that idea found in all later writers that Bhāratī is only the Vṛtti of the Prologue can be had by an enquiry in another direction. The dictum becomes intelligible when we take it as referring to that stage of the history of drama represented by mere action or dumb puppet show not attended by either explanatory speech or song. The presentation of a perfectly well-known story without words was, in all likelihood, present. There, as regards the play itself the

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Vṛttis are only three. The Bhāratī cannot appear within the play proper but it can be present in the prayer, inducement and introductory speech announcing the name of the play etc., by the Sūtradhāra. But in a fully developed drama there is no place devoid of Bhāratī; neither the Prologue nor the play itself can exist without it.

We gave above an explanation of the other two Aṅgas of Bhāratī also, *viz.*, the Vīthī and the Prahasana. Another explanation seems possible. Though Bharata, while mentioning as Bhāratyaṅgas the प्ररोचना, आमुखम्, वाथा and प्रहसनम्, does not mention the latter two as also forming part of the Prologue, later writers have taken Vīthī at least as part of the Prastāvanā. Śiṅgabhūpāla says that Prologue is of two kinds, Prastāvanā and Sthāpanā, that the former has only a few of the thirteen Vīthyaṅgas while the latter has a larger number of them and that the Aṅgas of Vīthī pertaining to the type of drama of that name pertain also to the Prologue. *See* Śls. 157-160 and also Śl. 162. Chap. III. R. A. S.

It is not known why of the two Vīthī and Prahasana, the former alone is taken as forming part of the Prologue. Examining Bharata's texts themselves on Pūrvaraṅga and Prastāvanā we find that two of the thirteen Aṅgas of Vīthī are taken in the Prologue as Aṅgas of the Āmukha which is itself the second Aṅga of Bhāratī. Those two are Udghātvaka and Avagalita.[1] In chapter five we find Bharata mentioning that the first Aṅga of the Prologue after the Raṅga-dvāra is Trigata[2] (*i.e.*) the appearance of three persons on the stage, the Sūtradhāra, the Vidūṣaka and the Pāripārśvaka, and the talk amongst them. Next comes the Prarocanā and then the Āmukha which, among its five Aṅgas, has two that are Vīthyaṅgas. Now this Trigata which begins the Bhāratī-Vṛtti is also a Vīthyaṅga and it is given so by Bharata in his description of the Vīthī and its Aṅgas.[3] Now how did these aspects of Vīthī get into the Prologue of a drama? It seems that when drama became perfect in the types Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, the features of all the other minor varieties which were their predecessors disappeared into those two. Thus in the very body of the play, Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa the

1. *Vide* N. S. KKII. 30 and 31.
2. *Vide* N. S. V. Sl. 29.
3. *Vide* N. S. KK. 119 and 132.

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Prahasana got in through the Vidūṣaka and through such other ways. So also did aspects of Vīthī get into the play itself. Adhibala, the seventh Vīthyaṅga is found also as the eighth Aṅga of the Garbha-Sandhi.[1] Leaving this fact apart, which must be considered in a separate paper dealing with the way in which one drama may have the features of all the ten types, we must here point out how Vīthyaṅgas became part of the Prologue. I think that not only did Vīthī or aspects of it get into the Prologue but also Prahasana or aspects of it. We know from chapter four of Bharata that originally the Pūrvaraṅga and the Prastāvanā were very simple, Śuddha and this Śiva did not relish much. He passed the Karaṇas of his dance through Taṇḍu to Bharata and his troupe of actors so that the Prologue might be highly beautified or made a चित्रपूर्वरङ्ग.[2] Similarly perhaps a Prologue which plainly and in a matter-of-fact prosaic manner briefly announced or introduced the drama it was felt to be rather wanting in strikingness or beauty—Vaicitrya—to make for which deficiency the comic was introduced.[3] The Vīthī and Prahasana are comic and some of their comic elements were grafted on to produce Vaicitrya on the side of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti in the Pūrvaraṅga. The Vidūṣaka mentioned in the Prastāvanā stands as the representative of the Prahasana while the three Vīthyaṅgas, Trigata, Udghātyaka and Avagalita represent the Vīthī in the Prastāvanā. Probably the very minor variety of Vīthī, as also the old Prahasana related to the Vīthī were first gone through before the drama began, thus giving in effect three dramas. The Vidūṣaka and the three Vīthyaṅgas, in that case, will be the remnants of two preliminary plays which slowly dwindled and dropped away.

Now to a consideration of Bharata's definition of the Bhāratī-Vṛtti which is thus given :

या वाक्प्रधाना पुरुषप्रयोज्या स्त्रीवर्जिता संस्कृतवाक्ययुक्ता ।
स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥ XXII. 25.

1. *Vide* D. R. I. 40, p. 23.
2. *Vide* N. S. IV, Sls 13-18.
3. The music of the Prologue, the dances etc. of the Citra-pūrva-raṅga are all intended to infect the spectator's mind and create in him the proper receptive aesthetic mood, the absence of which, as pointed out by Abhinava, is a bar to Rasa-Realisation. *See* p. 282 Gaek. edn.

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It is first emphasised that the Bhāratī is speech. It is called 'the mood which has mostly speech' (*i.e.*,) वाक्प्रधान, because one cannot avoid even while speaking the physical accompaniments and because the naming rests on the principle of प्राधान्य or prominence. Why does Bharata then call it पुरुषप्रयोज्या ? Is not the speech of women also Bhāratī ? Why should he consistently follow this up and say further that Bhāratī is स्त्रीवर्जिता and संस्कृतवाक्ययुक्ता ? Is not Prākṛt also speech and hence Bhāratī ? Two explanations are possible. Naturally women talk little and show their emotions mostly by the Sāttvikābhinaya (*i.e.*) by the Sāttvaṭī-Vṛtti. They therefore have less of the Bhāratī in which man freely indulges. Thus on seeing the Nāyikā, the Nāyaka bursts into a series of verses on her beauty. So it is perhaps that Bharata says that Bhāratī is pre-eminently the Vṛtti of men and of Sanskrit speech. Another explanation is this: We know from chapter one of the Nāṭya-Śāstra that Kaiśikī was only of a later origin which means that historically we had at first only male actors. They recited or spoke in Sanskrit. The definition of Bhāratī in Bharata refers to that stage. In later times, in a perfect drama, there is Bhāratī everywhere and there is as little meaning in restricting it to males and Sanskrit as in restricting it to the Prologue. Bhāratī is and must be taken as that Vṛtti of speech—Bhāratī also meaning speech—wherever it may be. It is in accordance with this that in the story of the Vedic origin of the Vṛttis, Bharata derives the Bhāratī from the Ṛg-Veda for that Veda, as is said in chapter one is the Veda which produced पाठ्य (*i.e.*) the Vācika.[1]

(To be Continued.)

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1. The bit 'स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता' in the above definition of the Bhāratī in Bharata's text shows that Bharata also suggests the derivation of Bhāratī from the word 'Bharata' meaning actors, the historical significance of which was explained above, while considering this same derivation as recorded by Śāradātanaya and Śiṅgabhūpāla.

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HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

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A somewhat similar classification is also found in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya and Śukla Yajur-veda Prātiśākhya:—

Nāmākhyātam upasargō nipātāścatvāri āhuḥ padajātāni śābdāḥ (R.V.P. 12.5.)

Nāmākhyātōpasarganipātāḥ (S.Y.V.P. 8.44).

It would become apparent from what follows in this section that Tolkāppiyaṉār had perhaps this classification of Nirukta and Prātiśākhyas for his model and introduced slight variations. While the first two of the four classes, *viz.*, *nāma=peyar-c-col*, *ākhyāta=viṉai-c-col* are kept intact, the third and the fourth classes were grouped into one, *viz.*, *iṭai-c-col* and a new fourth class, *uri-c-col*, was introduced for the sake of consistency with the Sanskritic model.

3.21. *Peyar:* 3.211. *Definition:* Tolkāppiyaṉār has not clearly defined what *peyar* is. But from the list of *peyar* given by him in *Peyar-iyal*, the 5th section of the second Chapter of Tolkāppiyaṃ, it seems to me that *peyar is a word denoting a person or an object.* This agrees with the definition of *nāma* given in Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya as '*sattvābhidhāyakam nāma*' (R.V.P. 12.8) where *sattva* evidently means *dravya* or object. cf. *sattva . . . śabdaḥ astyēva dravyapadārthakaḥ*: (M.B. i. 341.2). Hence Tolkāppiyaṉār does not seem to include abstract nouns under *peyar*. His statement that *peyar* does not denote time except when it is a verbal noun,[1] that it takes a finite

1. *Peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi kālan tōṉṟā*
Toḻinilai y-oṭṭu m-oṉṟalaṅ kaṭai-y-ē. (Tol. Col. 70.)

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verb after it and[1] that the case suffixes are added after it[2] simply explains *peyar;* it does not define it as interpreted by commentators.

Naṉṉūlār and later grammarians have, like the above-mentioned commentators, adopted this as its definition[3] and hence have included numerals[4] and abstract nouns also under *peyar*,[5] though they sometimes use the word *nāmam* itself in place of *peyar*.[6] In Tamil, *peyar* denotes nouns, pronouns and numerals.[7]

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1. *Poruṇmai cuṭṭal viyaṅkoḷa varutal*
   Viṉai-nilai y-uraittal viṇā-v-iṟ kēṟṟal
   Paṇpu-koḷa varutal peyar-koḷa varuṭaleṉ
   R-aṉṟi y-aṉaittum peyar-p-paya ṉilai-y-ē. (ibid. 66.)
2. *Kūṟiya muṟai-y-i ṉ-urupu-nilai tiriyā*
   T-īṟu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyaṟkaiya v-eṉpa. (ibid. 69.)
3. *Iṭukuṟi kāraṇa marapō ṭ-ākkan*
   Toṭarntu toḻil-ala kālan tōṟṟā
   Vēṟṟumai-k-k-iṭaṉ-āy-t tiṇai-pā l-iṭat-t-oṉṟù
   Ēṟpavum potu-v-u m-āvaṇa peyarē- (Na. 275.)
4. *Viṇā-c-cuṭ ṭ-uṭaṉum vēṟu m-āmporuḷ*
   Āti y-uṟutu-c cuṭṭaṇai y-āytam
   Oṉṟ-ṉ eṉ ṉ-iṉṉaṇa v-oṉṟaṉ peyarē. (ibid. 279.)
   Muṉṉa r-a-v-v-oṭù varuvai ya-v-v-um
   Cuṭṭiṟu va-v-v-uiṅ kaḻ-ḻ-iṟu moḻiyum
   Oṉṟa l-eṉṉu m-uḷḷa v-illa
   Palla cilla v-uḷa-v-ila pala-cila
   Iṉṉavum palaviṉ peyar-ā kum-m-ē. (ibid. 280.)
5. *Viṉaiyiṉ peyarē puṭarkkai viṉaiyāl*
   Aṉaiyum peyarē y-āṉṭu m-ākum. (ibid. 286.)
   Pal-vakai-p paṉpum pakar-peya r-āki
   Oru-kuṇam pala-kuṇaṅ taḻuvi-p payar-viṉai
   Oṟuvā ceyyuṭku uriyaṇa uṛiccol. (ibid. 442.)
6. *Paṭarkkai viṉai-muṟṟu nāmaṅ kuṟippu*
   Peṟappaṭun tiṇai-pā l-aṉaittu m-ēṉai
   Iṭattavaṟ ṟorumai paṉmai-p pālē. (ibid. 265) and (I. V. 67.)
7. It is clear from the expression '*eṉṉu-k-kuṟi-p-peyar*' in
   Palla pala-cila v-eṉṉum peyarum
   Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṉṉum peyarum
   Viṉai-p-peyar-k kiḻaviyum paṉpu-koḷa peyarum
   Iṉaitteṉa-k kiḻakku m-eṉṉu-k-kuṟip peyarum
   Oppiṉākiya peyar-nilai-y-uḷappaṭa
   A-p-pā l-oṉpatu m-avaṟṟō r-aṉṉa. (Tol. Col. 168.)

that the words oṉṟù, iraṇṭù etc., are nouns according to Tolkāppiyaṉār only when they respectively mean one object, two objects, etc.

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3.2120. *Classification:* 3.2121. *Peyar is classified under three heads:*—(1) *Uyartiṇai* or high caste (2) *aⁿ̇ṟiṇai* or casteless and (3) *viravu-t-tiṇai* or caste common to both. Tolkāppiyaṉār defines *uyartiṇai* as words denoting human beings, and *aⁿ̇ṟiṇai* as words denoting objects other than human beings[1]. He includes words denoting gods under *uyartiṇai*.[2] The author of the Nēmināṭam includes *narakar* also under *uyartiṇai*.[3] He is followed by Naṉṉūlār.[4] The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam repeats what is said by Tolkāppiyaṉār[5].

3.2122. *Uyartiṇai* is divided into three *pāls*, viz., *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl*. *Āṇpāl* is that which denotes a male, *peṇpāl*, a female and *palarpāl*, more than one male or female. Similarly *aⁿ̇ṟiṇai* is divided into two *pāls*, viz., *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl*. *Oṉṟaṉpāl* is that which denotes one animal other than a human being, or a lifeless object and *palaviṉpāl* is that which denotes more than one of them. Hence it is evident that gender and number are not taken as separate entities in Tamil language, and that the *pāl* or the gender and number in Tamil nouns are determined more from their *meaning* than from their *ending*, though it is generally stated that the ending *ṉ*[6] denotes

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1. *Uyartiṇai y-eṉmaṉār makkaṭ cuṭṭē*
   Aⁿ̇ṟiṇai yṉmaṉār r-avarala piṟavē
   Ā-y-irutiṇaiyi ṉ-icaikkumaṉa collē. (Tol. Col. 1.)
2. *Peṇmai cuṭṭiya v-uyartiṇai maruṅkiṉ*
   Āṇmai tiriṅta peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyum,
   Ṭeyvañ cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyum
   I-v-v-eṉa v-aṟiyum-an tan-tamak kilavē
   Uyartiṇai maruṅkiṟ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum. (ibid. 4.)
3. *Ēṟṟa ciṇai-y-iraṇṭum pāl-aintu m-ēḻ-vaḻuvum*
   Vēṟṟumai y-eṭṭu-n tokai-y-āṟu-māṟṟariya
   Mūṉṟiṭamuṅ kālaṅkaṇ mūṉṟu m-iraṇṭi-ṭattāṟ
   Ṟōṉṟa v-uraippatāñ col. (N. N. Col. 2.)
4. *Makkaḷ tēvar naraka r-uyartiṇai*
   Maṟṟuyi r-uḷḷavu m-illavu m-aⁿ̇ṟiṇai. (Na. 261.)
5. *Uyartiṇai y-eṉmaṉār makkaṭ cuṭṭē*
   Aⁿ̇ṟiṇai y-eṉmaṉār r-avarala piṟavē. (I. V. 162.)
   Teyvamum pēṭuṃ-ā m-a-v-v-iru pakutiyum
   I-v-v-eṉa v-aṟiyum-an tan-tamak k-ilavē
   Uyartiṇai marruṅkiṟ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum. (I. V. 165.)
6. *Ṉaⁿ̇kā ṉoṟṟē y-āṭṭū v-aṟi-cōl.* (Tol. Col. 5.)

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masculine singular,[1] *ḷ*, feminine singular, *r*, *mār*[2] epicene plural, *tu*[3] neuter[4] singular and *a*[5] neuter plural. Though the word *peṇ-makaṉ* ends in *ṉ*, it is feminine singular; though *makkaḷ* ends in *ḷ*, it is epicene plural; though *āḷ* ends in *ḷ*, it is common gender singular, and so on.

3.213. *Declension:* 3.2131. *General points in Declension:* 3.21311. *Case:* There are, in Tamil, 8 cases. The cases from the accusative to the locative were, it seems to me, *named after their suffixes* by the Tamil grammarians who lived before Tolkāppiyaṉār, as *ai-vēṟṟumai*,[6] *oṭu-vēṟṟumai*, *ku-vēṟṟumai*, *iṉ-vēṟṟumai*, *atu-vēṟṟumai*, and *kaṇ-vēṟṟumai*;[7] but the vocative was called *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* from the sense which it conveyed, and the nominative, *peyar-vēṟṟumai*. Tolkāppiyaṉār, though he adopted the name *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* and *peyar-vēṟṟumai* for the vocative, and the nominative cases respectively, began to name the cases from the accusative to the locative as *iraṇṭāṃ vēṟṟumai*, *mūṉṟāṃ vēṟṟumai*, *nāṉkām vēṟṟumai*, *aintām vēṟṟumai*, *āṟām vēṟṟumai*, and *ēḻām vēṟṟumai*. This he did, perhaps on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini and his predecessors who called them *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* and

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1. *Ḷa°kā ṉ-oṟṟē makaṭūu v-aṟi-col.* (ibid. 6.)
2. *Ra°kā ṉ oṟṟum pakara v-iṟutiyum*
   Mārai-k kiḷavi yunuḷappaṭa mūṉṟum
   Nēra-t tōṉṟum palar-aṟi eollē. (ibid. 7.)
3. *Oṉṟaṟi kiḷavi ta-ṟa-ṭa v-ūrnta*
   Kuṉṟiya lukara-t t-iṟuti y-ākum. (ibid. 8.)
4. It is to be understood that the words *masculine singular, feminine singular and neuter singular, gender, do not at all correspond to āṇpāl and oṉṟaṇ-pāl, since the classification of pāl and that of gender are entirely on different bases*; but for want of better terms they are used here to denote them.
5. *A ā va-eṇa varūu m-iṟuti*
   A-p-pāṉ mūṉṟē pala-v-aṟi collē. (Tol. Col. 9.)
6. The Tamil word *vēṟṟumai* seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *vibhakti*.
7. *Iraṇṭā kuvatē*
   Ai-y-eṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi..... (Tol. Col. 71.)
   Mūṉṟā kuvatē
   Oṭu-eṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi. (ibid. 73.)
   Nāṉkā kuvatē
   Ku eṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷari..... (ibid. 75.)
   Aintā kuvatē

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saptamī[1] respectively. The name *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* corresponds in sense to *sambuddhi*, the name given by the early Sanskrit grammarians to the vocative singular. Tolkāppiyaṉār did not change the names of *peyar-vēṟṟumai* and *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* perhaps because they were not represented by suffixes. On the other hand, Naṉṉūlār began to call *viḷi-vēṟṟumai, eṭṭām-vēṟṟumai*,[2] and in modern times *peyar-vēṟṟumai* also is called *mutal-vēṟṟumai*.

3.21312. *Number:* Tolkāppiyaṉār and all the later grammarians have mentioned only two numbers, singular and plural. The plural suffixes may be used, according to them, to denote honorific singular.[3] Dr. Caldwell seems to think that *nām* is a species of dual[4] and denotes the speaker and the person spoken to. But it is found used with reference to not only the speaker and the person spoken to, but also a third person or persons standing near them. Hence there does not seem to be adequate justification for treating *nām* as a species of dual.

3.21313. *Points of difference in Declension between Tamil and Sanskrit:* There are four important points to be noted in the

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Iṉ-ṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-kiḷavi.....(ibid. 77.)
Āṟā kuvatē
Atu-v-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi.....(ibid. 79.)
Ēḷā kuvatē
Kaṇ-ṇ-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi....(ibid. 81.)

1. *Karmaṇi dvitīyā* (P. A. 2, 3, 2.)
Kartṛ-karaṇayōs tṛtīyā (ibid. 18.)
Caturthī sampradānē (ibid. 13.)
Apādānē pañcamī (ibid. 28.)
Ṣaṣṭhī śēṣē. (ibid. 50.)
Saptamydhikaraṇē ca. (ibid. 36.)

2. *Eṭṭa ṉ-urupē y-eytu-peya rīṟṟiṉ*
Tiripu Kuṉṟal mikuta l-iyalpayal
Tiripu m-ām poruḷ paṭarkkai y-ōrai-t
Taṉmuka m-āka-t tāṉ-aḻai-p patuvē. (Na. 303.)

3. *Iyaṟpeyar muṉṉa r-ārai-k kiḷavi*
Palar-k-k-uri y-eḻuttiṉ ciṉai-yoṭù varumē. (Tol. Col. 270.)
Oruvaṉ-orutti-y-oṉ ṟāñ-ciṟappōṭù pallōr-palavai-k
Karuṭu-muṟaiyiṟ kaḷappaṉc-vēṟṟumai kāṇ-mutaḷ-cu
Maruvum-ar-ārarkaḷ ārkaḷ-kaḷ nār-mutal-vēṟṟumaiyiṉ
Uruvam-viḷi-vēṟ ṟumai-y-oḻitteṅku mura-p-peṟumē. (V. V. 2.)

4. C. D. G. pp. 222, 223 :—Two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, one of which includes the party addressed as well as the party of speaker, and which may therefore be considered as a *species of dual* etc.

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declension of nouns and pronouns in Tamil where it differs from Sanskrit.

(1) One suffix in Tamil denotes both gender and number, (except the suffix *kaḷ* added to *uyartiṇai* nouns in medieval and modern periods which denotes number alone) and another, case; while in Sanskrit, one pratyaya denotes gender and another both number and case.

(2) Tamil has no dual number, while Sanskrit has.

(3) The suffixes of the second, third and seventh cases are added, in Tamil, to the *nominative case form and not to the base as in Sanskrit.*

(4) *Cāriyai* or flexional increments are added in Tamil between the noun and the case suffixes. They are not ordinarily recognisable in Sanskrit except '*n*' which is inserted between the stems ending in a vowel and the genitive plural suffix and the instrumental singular suffix, through analogy with the corresponding cases of stems ending in *n*. (e.g. *Rāmā-ṇ-ām, Harī-ṇ-ām, Hariṇā* through analogy with *ātman-ām, guṇin-ām* and *guṇinā*).

On the other hand, in the graded declensions in Sanskrit, stems exhibit different grades of vowel-variation. Such vowel-variations are not generally found in Tamil except to some extent in the declension of pronouns. (e. g. *nām, nammai; tāṉ, taṉṉai,* etc.)

3.2132. *Case-suffixes:* 3.21321. Case-suffixes from the first to the seventh are the following:

Ancient period.	Medieval Period.[1]	Modern Period.
1st Case No suffix	No suffix	No suffix
2nd case *ai*	*ai*	*ai*
3rd case *oṭu* (*āṉ* also)[2]	*oṭu, ōṭu, āl, āṉ*	*oṭu, ōṭu, āl, āṉ*
4th case *ku*	*ku*	*ku*
5th case *iṉ*	*iṉ, il*	*iṉ, il*
		iṉum (Beschi)

1. In the medieval period, since what is stated by the author of Vīracōḷiyam is entirely different from that of others, I have not mentioned it here but in 3.21324.

2. Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned '*āṉ*' in

Kuai āṉ-eṉa varūu m-iṟuti
A-v-v-oṭù civaṇuñ ceyyu ḷ-uḷḷē. (Tol. Col. 108.)

though he has not stated that it denotes third case.

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6th case	*atu* (if the following word is *aṟiṇai*)	*atu, ātu,* (if the following noun is singular)	*atu, ātu*
	ku (if the following word is *uyartiṇai*)	*a* (if the following noun is plural)	*a*
7th case	*kaṇ*	*il, kaṇ, kāl, kaṭai,* etc.[1]	*kaṇ, kāl, kaṭai,* etc.

3.21322. *Vocative case*: There is generally no special suffix to denote vocative case. If the person addressed is very near the speaker, the nominative case form itself is used if the word ends in a vowel or *āṉ*. If the person addressed is at a great distance from the speaker the quantity of the last vowel of the word is increased. (e.g. *nampī, makkāaḷ*, etc. Tol. Col. 152.) This is quite similar to the practice recorded in Pāṇini's statement *'dūrāddhūtē ca'* (P. A. 8.2.24.). If the person addressed is neither very near to, nor at a distance from, the speaker, the following changes take place:—

(1) If the noun ends in *i*, *i* is lengthened to *ī*. e.g. *nampī*.

(2) If it ends in *ai*, *ai* is changed to *āy;* e.g. *naṅkāy, aṉṉāy*; but in words of relationship like *aṉṉai*, *ai* is also changed to *ā*. e.g. *aṉṉā*.

(3) If it ends in *ō* or *u*, *ē* is added at the end. e. g. *kō-v-ē, tiru-v-ē*, etc.

(4) If it ends in *ṉ* like *cōḻaṉ*, *ṉ* is dropped if the person spoken to is near the speaker (*cōḻa*), and *a* is also lengthened if he is a little away from him (*cōḻā*); if it is a verbal noun like *vantāṉ* or noun derived from a word denoting quality like *kariyāṉ*, *ṉ* is changed to *y;* if *ṉ* is preceded by *ā*, like *cēramāṉ*, there is no change; if it denotes relationship as *makaṉ*, *ē* is added at the end.

(5) If it ends in *r* preceded by *a* or *ā*, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī*. (e.g. *kūttar—kūttīr, pārppār—pārppīr;* cf. *cennā-p-pulavīr* (oh. poets of refined speech) (P.N. 140, 2); if it is a verbal noun

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1. *Kaṇ-kāl kaṭai-iṭai taṭai-vāy ticai-vayiṉ*
Muṉ-cār valam iṭam mēl-kīḻ puṭai-mutal
Piṉ-pāṭu aḷai-tēm uḻai-vaḻi uḻi-uḻi
Ulakam puṟam-il iṭa-p-poruḷ-urupē (Na. 302.)

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or one derived from a word denoting quality, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī* and *ē* is added at the end. (e.g. *vantār-vantīrē; kariyār - kariyīrē.*)

(6) If it ends in *l* or *ḷ*, the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. E. g. *kuricil - kuṟicīl; makkaḷ - makkāḷ.* This is similar to Pāṇini's statement *'vākyasya ṭēḥ pluta udāttaḥ'* (P. A. 8.2.82.) If it ends in *ḷ* and is a verbal noun or a noun derived from a word denoting quality and if it is proceded by *ā*, *ḷ* is changed to *y* (e.g., *niṉṟāḷ-niṉṟāy; kaṟiyāḷ - kariyāy*). If it ends in *ḷ* and denotes relationship, *ē* is added at the end (e. g. *makaḷ - makaḷē*).

(7) If nouns denoting *aṟiṇai* have to be used in the vocative case, *ē* is invariably added at the end. (e.g. *puli-y-ē*, etc.)

The nouns ending in other letters have the same form in the vocative, as in the nominative case.

As regards the formation of the vocative case there is practically very little difference in all the three periods—ancient, medieval and modern[1].

3.21323. *Special points regarding certain case suffixes mentioned above*:—In an attempt to give an historical exposition of grammatical theories in Tamil, the following points regarding certain cases deserve special notice.

3.213231. *7th-case suffix*:—As regards the 7th case-suffix in the ancient period, Tolkāppiyaṉār gives two sūtras (Tol. Col. 81 and 82), the latter of which is the following:—

Kaṇ-kāl puṟam-aka m-uḷ-ḷ-uḷai kīḻ-mēl
Piṉ-cā r-aṟal-puṭai tēvakai y-eṉāa
Muṉ-ṉ-iṭai kaṭai-taḷai valam-iṭa m-eṉāa
Aṉṉa piṟavu m-aṭaṉ-pāla v-eṉmaṉār. (Tol. Col. 82).

This stanza is interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar to denote the *suffixes* which may come in the place of *kaṇ*, the 7th case-suffix; but Cēṉāvaraiyar interprets it to denote the *different meanings* of *kaṇ*, the seventh case-suffix. Naṉṉūlār and all the later grammarians agree with Iḷampūraṇar. But the arguments set forth against it by Cēṉāvaraiyar under the same sūtra appear to be convincing and my discussion in detail on the same is found in pages 94 to 96 of my Collatikāra-k-kuṟippu

1. The above points are mentioned in *viḷimarapu* of Tolkāppiyam, and sūtras 304 to 314 of Naṉṉūl.

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which is being published in parts in Sen-tamil of the Madura Tamil Sangam One or two of the most important points may be mentioned here. If the latter sūtra makes mention of suffixes, the suffix *kaṇ* which finds a place in the sūtra

Eḻā kuvatē
Kaṇ-ṇ-eṉa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-kkiḻavi
Viṉai-cey y-iṭatti ṉilattiṟ kālattiṉ
Aṉai-vakai-k kuṟippiṟ ṟōṉṟu m-atuvē.

(Tol. Col. 81.)

need not be repeated here; *tēvakai* which is found in this sūtra is taken by all the commentators not as a case-suffix but as the meaning of the case-suffix *kaṇ;* if *akam* be taken as a suffix, the *cāriyai atlu* that is found in the expression *'ūrakattiruntāṉ'* (he was in the village) would be quite out of place, since the *cāriyai* can come only between *a noun and a case suffix* and not between *a noun followed by a case-suffix and a verb.*

3.213232. *6th Case-suffixes:*—As regards the sixth case-suffixes, it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiyaṉār says that it is *ku* if it is followed by an *uyartiṇai* noun[1] and *atu* in other places; and Naṉṉūlār does not make any mention of *ku* and proceeds to make a new point by observing that *'atu'* and *'ātu'* are used if the following noun is singular, and *'a'* is used if it is plural. It seems strange here that the same element *'atu'* affixed to nouns or pronouns denotes the gender of the noun which they qualify according to Tolkāppiyaṉār and its number according to Naṉṉūlār. It seems to me that the latter has stated so since numerous expressions like *'niṉṉa kaṇṇiyum* (even thy garlands) (P. N. 45.3.), *avara kāppuṭaiya kayam* (their protected wells) (P.N. 15.9.), *ematu ucciyārē* (T. 21.1 to 7)' were found used before his time. I venture to suggest the following reason for such a usage:—We see that, in expressions like *'kai eṉatu'* (hand is mine) and *'kaikaḷ cṉa'* (hands are mine), the suffixes *atu* and *a* denote respectively singular and plural. Here *tu* and *a* are regular since they are *the verbal terminations denoting oṉṟaṉpāl and palaviṉpāl;* but when expressions like *'eṉatu kai'* (my hand) and *'eṉatu kaikaḷ'* (my hands) where *atu* at the end of *eṉatu* is *not a verbal termination, but the sixth case-suffix,*

1. Here I have followed the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar on the sūtra.

Atuv-eṉ vēṟṟumai y-uyartiṇai-t tokai-vayiṉ
Atu-v-e ṉ-urupu-keṭa-k kukaram varumē. (Tol. Col. 94.)

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were used, it may have been wrongly understood that *atu* in both *eṉatu kai* and *kai eṉatu* was the *same sixth case-suffix*. This may have led to the feeling that *atu* in *'eṉatu kaikaḷ'* should be treated as a mistake and changed to *'eṉa kaikaḷ'* on the analogy of *'kaikaḷ eṉa'*. Or expressions like *pōkā tama* (K. 376) may have led to it. Here *tama* which, in its origin is a plural appellative verb formed by adding *a* to *tam* is found used as *a participal noun* and means *one's own objects*. Thus expressions like *'tama poruḷkaḷ'* in the sense of *objects which are one's own* may have come into vogue. In such instances *a* of *tama* may have been mistaken for the sixth case-suffix added to words accompanied by plural *nouns*.

The following examples clearly support Tolkāppiyaṉār's view that the noun or pronoun having the suffix *'atu'* may be accompanied by a neuter noun irrespective of its being singular or plural.

Niṉatiru tiru-v-aṭi (Your two feet). (Cilap., 24, p. 518, 2nd edn.)

Iṟaivaṉatu aṭiyiṇai (God's two feet). (T. 127.5.)

Uṉatu aṭiyār maṉattāyō (Are you of the minds of your devotees). (P.T. 150.7.)

N.B.—Here *aṭi* and *maṉam* are neuter plurals.

3.213233. *Fifth case-suffix 'il'*:—Tolkāppiyaṉār recognises *'iṉ'* as the fifth case-suffix, whereas *'il'* has taken its place in Vīracōḻiyam and is found used along with *'iṉ'* in Naṉṉūl and other later works. No attempt appears to have so far been made to discover the process by which Tolkāppiyaṉār's *'iṉ'* may have been metamorphosed into *'il'* at the hands of the author of Vīracōḻiyam.

For this I would suggest the following solution: Consider the following equations:

kōl + naṉmai = kōṉaṉmai

kōṉ + naṉmai = kōṉaṉmai.

If we reverse the process, it is easy to see that there are two possible legitimate ways of splitting *kōṉaṉmai*. This may have proved to be a fruitful source of confusion between the final *ṉ* and final *l*. Perhaps in similar cases of sandhi like *aracaṉiṉallaṉ* (*aracaṉiṉ + nallaṉ* or *aracaṉil + nallaṉ*), a bias may have been developed in favour of the latter alternative *aracaṉil + nallaṉ*. Thus *'il'* may have come to usurp the place of *'iṉ'* as the suffix of fifth case.

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3.213234. *Third case-suffix 'āl'*:—Tolkāppiyaṉār's *'āṉ'* used as an instrumental suffix[1] perhaps underwent the same vicissitude as *iṉ*, the fifth case-suffix, and came to be replaced by *āl* (the third case-suffix) in Vīracōḻiyam. It is found used along with *āṉ* in Naṉṉūl and other later works.

3.21324. The author of Vīracōḻiyam adopts a different plan for explaining case forms. As has already been said, he adopted Pāṇini's definition of *padam* and combines *both the element that denotes the number and the element that denotes the case as one denoting case and number*, since only one *pratyaya* denotes *both number and case* in Sanskrit. Besides, he says that *'cu'* is the pratyaya for the first case singular and it is always dropped. This is evidently done in close imitation of Pāṇini's Grammar.[2] According to him the case-suffixes are the following:—

Singular:	Honorific Singular & Plural:
1st case *cu* (dropped afterwards)	*ar, ār, arkaḷ, ārkaḷ, kaḷ, mār &* (*cu* in the neuter).
2nd case *ai* preceded by *cu*.	*ai* preceded by *ar, ār*, etc.
3rd case *oṭu, ōṭu, āl* preceded by *cu*.	*oṭu, ōṭu, āl* preceded by *ar, ār*, etc.
4th case *ku, poruṭṭu* preceded by *cu*.	*ku, poruṭṭu* preceded by *ar, ār*, etc.
5th case *niṉṟu* preceded by *kaṇ, il*, etc. preceded by *cu*.	*niṉṟu* preceded by *kaṇ, il*, etc preceded by *ar, ār*, etc.
6th case *uṭaiyāṉ* (āṇpāl) *uṭaiyāḷ* (peṇpāl) *uṭaiyatu* (oṉṟaṉpāl) (*ku* preceded by *cu* when the 6th case becomes a *kāraka*.)	*uṭaiyār, uṭaiyārkaḷ* (palarpāl) *uṭaiyiṉa* (palaviṉpāl) (*ku* preceded by *ar, ār*, etc. when the 6th case becomes a *kāraka*.)
7th case *kē, uḻai, il, kaṇ* and other words denoting place preceded by *cu*.	*kē, uḻai*, etc, preceded by *ar, ār*, etc.

3.213241. The points to be noted here are.—(1) The mention of *'ar'* as the pluralising particle of nouns, while *'r'*

1. *Ku-ai āṉ-eṉa varūu m-iṟuti*
A-v-v-otu civaṇuñ ceyyu ḷ-uḷḷē. (ibid. 108.)

2. The author of Pirayōkavivēkam follows him in this point. Cf. *orupeyarccol eṉa cuppēṟi nīṅkum.* (P. V. 37. Comm.)

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alone is said to be so by Tolkāppiyaṉār. It is shown in my article on *cuṭṭeḻuttu*[1] that *a* of *ar* is only a demonstrative root and has nothing to do with the plural number.

(2) The mention of the forms *arkaḷ* and *ārkaḷ;* these are evidently cases of double plurals not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār. The latter says that *'kaḷ'* may be affixed only to neuter nouns to denote plural number as *māṭṭukaḷ* (bulls), but that too was not absolutely necessary. According to him and even the later grammarians, we may say *māṭṭu vantaṉa* (bulls came). Hence it is very likely that *kaḷ* which was originally added only to denote *palaviṉpāl*, may have been used through analogy to denote *palarpāl*, (e.g. *nōṉpi-kaḷ* (M.M. 3.75); *vacukkaḷ* (T. 42.5) and then it may have been added to plural forms both in *palarpāl* and *palaviṉpāl*. *Then it seems to me that it was further extended through analogy to verbs also.*

Examples of these double plurals and the use of *kaḷ* after *uyartiṇai* nouns are found in very few instances in Cilāppatikāram (e.g. *peṇṭirkāḷ* Cilap. 469.4) and in plenty in works of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava literature and certain other works belonging to the period from 6th to 9th century A.D. and in the inscriptions of the later period.

Paṭṭarkaḷ payilavaittār (the temple purohits made them learn) (T. 27.2.)

Ivai pāṭum tavamuṭaiyārkaḷ (they have the fortune of singing these) (P.T. 96.10.)

Eṇvakai vacukkaḷoṭu (with eight kinds of Vasus). (T. 42.5.)

Sēṉāpatikaḷ. (S. I. I. iii, iv, 133.)

It is worthy of note that such a use of *kaḷ* is not at all found in the earlier works of the Sangam period like Puṟaṉāṉūṟu, Paṭiṟṟuppattu, etc.

In this connection I may say that, so far as Tamil is concerned, I do not agree with M. J. Vinson who thinks that the general plural sign in Dravidian is *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* and *r* another form of plural is of relatively modern origin[2]. The reasons set forth below support my view on this point:—(1) According to Tolkāppiyaṉār there may have been a period when *'r'* was used and *'kaḷ'* was not.

1. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.
2. J. A. Dixeme Serie Tome 17, Le Pluriel Primitif en-M.

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(2) In words like *aracarkaḷ* (kings), *kaḷ* does not displace, *r* but is added only after it.

(3) '*R*' is found in the *verbal forms* as a plural element in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese from the ancient times, and *kaḷ* is not found as such in Canarese and Telugu even now. (e.g. Tel. *cēsiri*: Kan. *geydir*.)

(4) '*R*' may have been a plural element common to both the Dravidian and Indo-European languages since '*r*' is found in Sanskrit *lēbhirē*.

It may be useful to observe in this connection that the practice of supporting the view that Tamil is a language of the suffix agglutinating type, by illustrations involving the suffix *kaḷ* (*palaṉai, palaṉkaḷai*) may easily be called into question, in view of the fact, that, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, there may have been a period in the history of Tamil when forms like *palaṉai* were used both in *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl* and forms like *aracarai* were used to denote *palarpāl*.

3.213242. Forms having *ōṭu* as the third case-suffix are rare in the works of Sangam period, but in later works they occur more frequently than the forms with *oṭu*.

Malar magaḷōḍu (with Lakṣmī). (I. A. Vol. 22, p. 70-M. M. P.)

Kol-kaliṟṟōḍum (even with war-bulls). Do.

Muṉi tāṉ uṉaiyōṭu muyaṅki (Śiva having been in the company of Pārvatī). (T. 110. 5.)

Aṉṟu āyarkula-k-koṭiyōṭu (on that day with (Kṛṣṇa) the banner of the families of shepherds). (P. T. 37.1.)

3.213243. The sixth case-suffixes mentioned by the author of Vīracōḻiyam are *uṭāiyāṉ*, etc., and his commentator gives *ivaṉ koṟṟaṉuṭaiyāṉ, ivaḷ koṟṟaṉuṭaiyāḷ* etc. as examples for the same. But *koṟṟaṉuṭaiyāṉ, korraṉataiyāḷ*, etc. are only appellative verbs, and hence they cannot be words of the sixth case. He might have given *uṭaiya* as a sixth case-suffix for which he had many examples from the literature and inscriptions which were in existence in his time. The following are some of them:

Ceytavaṉuṭaiya—tēvikku (T. 106.3.)

Muṉ-ciṟai-c-cavaiyāruṭaiya (T. A. S. i. H. O. P. 5.)

Paviḻiya caraṇattāruṭaiya (Ibid. p. 8.)

3.21325. It will be interesting to note here that the practice of attributing case values to certain words became widely

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prevalent in the medieval and modern periods though it was not entirely unknown in early Sangam works. For instance, *kāl, tica i koṇṭu* etc., were occasionally used in the place of the seventh case-suffix in early Sangam works, *poruṭṭu* in the place of the fourth and *koṇṭu* in the place of the third (e.g.)

Ūrkkāl nivanta (Ka. T. i. 334, 1.)
Teṉṟicai yāay kuṭi-y-iṉṟāyiṉ (P. N. 132.)
Iḷittaṟporuṭṭu (K. 784.)
Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-ciyal uṭaṟṟi (P. N. 55.)

There are numerous such instances in the works of later period and in colloquial speech (e.g.)

uṭaṉ as third case-suffix—*avaṉuṭaṉ, ivaṉ vantāṉ* (Colloq.)
pārkkilum as 5th case-suffix—*avaṉaippārkkilum, ivaṉ nallaṉ* (Colloq.)
kāṭṭilum Do. *avaṉa-k-kāṭṭilum ivaṉ naliaṉ* (Colloq.)
iṭam as the 7th case-suffix—*ūriṭam iruṇṭu* (Colloq.)
iṭai Do. *iruṅ kāṉiṭai* (Kampar. Â. 232. 28.)

3.21326. *INFLUENCE OF VĪRACŌḶIYAM ON NAṈṈŪL* The author of Naṉṉūl follows the author of Vīracōḷiyam in stating *kaḷ* as the pluralising particle of *uyartiṇai* nouns also, *ōṭu* and *āl* as suffixes of the 3rd case and *il* as a suffix of the seventh. But it is refreshing to see that Naṉṉūlār wisely refrained from introducing before all case-suffixes in the singular and after neuter plural the imaginary *'cu'* which the author of Vīracōḷiyam, owing to his Sanskritic obsession, did not hesitate to adopt.

3.2133. *CLASSIFICATION*: Though Tamil grammarians include pronouns in a comprehensive class called *peyar-c-col* which comprises nouns also, it seems to me proper to treat here noun declension separately from pronominal declension having regard to the fact that vowel-gradation which is a prominent feature of the latter type of declension is not found in the former.

3.21331. *DECLENSION OF NOUNS*: The declension of nouns in Tamil is much easier than that in Sanskrit. It is so fundamentally different as to form one of the points to show that Tamil and Sanskrit belong to entirely different families of languages. It may be divided into two classes : (1) declension of a *uyartiṇai* nouns and (2) that of *aḵṟiṇai* nouns. *Uyartiṇai* nouns may be classified under two heads :—(*a*) those that denote their *tiṇai* by their endings like *araṣaṉ, vaṇikaṉ, kariyaṉ, kariyaḷ*, etc., (*b*) those that do not denote their *tiṇai* by their endings like *āṭūu, makaṭūu, tantai, aṉṉai, naṅkai, makkaḷ, māntar*, etc.

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Ancient Period

(1) a. *Āṇpāl*:	*Peṇpāl*:	*Palarpāl*:
1st case kariyaṉ	*kariyaḷ*	*kariyar*
2nd case kariyaṉai	*kariyaḷai*	*kariyarai*
3rd case kariyaṉoṭu	*kariyaḷoṭu*	*kariyaroṭu*
kariyaṉāṉ	*kariyaḷaṉ*	*kariyarāṉ*
4th case kariyaṟku	*kariyaḷukku*	*kariyarkku*
5th case kariyaṉiṉ	*kariyaḷiṉ*	*kariyariṉ*
6th case kariyaratu	*kariyaḷatu*	*kariyaratu*
kariyaṟku	*kariyaḷukku*	*kariyarkku*
7th case kariyaṉkaṇ	*kariyaḷkaṇ*	*kariyarkaṇ*
8th case kariyāy	*kariyay*	*kariyīr*
		kariyīrē.

But *makaṉ* has for its plural *makār*. (e.g. *makārōṭu*-Pattu. 431.253)

(1) b. (i)	*Āṇpāl*:	*Palarpāl*:
1st case	*tantai*	*tantaiyar*
2nd case	*tantaiyai*	*tantaiyarai*
3rd case	*tantaiyoṭu*	*tantaiyaroṭu*
	tantaiyāṉ	*tantaiyarāṉ*
Etc.	Etc.	

(ii)	*Peṇpāl*:	*Palarpāl*:
1st case	*aṉṉai*	*aṉṉaiyar*
2nd case	*aṉṉaiyai*	*aṉṉaiyarai*
3rd case	*aṉṉaiyoṭu*	*aṉṉaiyaroṭu*
	aṉṉaiyāṉ	*aṉṉaiyaāṉ*
Etc.		Etc.

But *makaḷ* has for its plural *makaḷir* in the ancient period (e. g. *tiṉai kuṟu makaḷir*—Pattu. 435.342) and *makaḷirkaḷ* also in the later periods (e. g. *iṭai-y-iṟa maḷirkaḷ* Kampar. B. 49.14).

There are certain nouns which are always plural in number. E. g. *māntar, makkaḷ*. The words *āṭūu* and *makaṭūu*, it appears to me, were used only in the singular number in the ancient period.

Oṉṟaṉpāl:	*Palaviṉpāl*:
1st case ā	*ā ākkaḷ*
2nd case āviṉai	*āviṉai, ākkaḷai*
3rd case āviṉoṭu, āviṉāṉ	*āviṉoṭu, ākkaḷoṭu*
	āviṉaṉ, ākkaḷāṉ
4th case āviṟku	*āviṟku, ākkāḷukku*
5th case āviṉiṉ	*āviṉiṉ, ākkaḷiṉ*

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6th case āviṉaṯu	*āviṉaṯu, ākkaḷaṯu*
7th case āviṉkaṇ	*āviṉkaṇ, ākkaḷiṉkaṇ*
8th case āvē	*āvē, ākkaḷē.*

It deserves to be noted here that the *cāriyai* or flexionel increment is added between the base of the noun and the case-suffix more commonly in the case of *aṟiṇai* nouns than in that of *uyartiṇai* nouns. There is a peculiarity in Tamil that all finite forms of verbs like *uṇṭēṉ uṇṭēm, uṇṭīr, uṇṭāṉ, uṇṭār, uṇṭārkaḷ*, etc., take case-suffixes after them like the forms *uṇṭavaṉ, uṇṭavaḷ*, etc., when they are used as participial nouns. Such a usage is not found in Sanskrit except that the third person, singular, present parasmaipada of verbs is used as a substantive denoting the corresponding root and declined as such. e. g. *saktuḥ sacatēḥ* (M. B. 3.4.12.) which means that the word *saktuḥ* is derived from the root *sac*.

The following may serve as examples for using the finite verbs as participal nouns.

Vempukiṉṟēṉai (me who am feeling sorry). (T. V. 6.78.)
Nāyēṉai-p-poruṭpaṭuttu (having treated with grace me who am like a dog). (T. 31.3.)
Umakkē āḷāyttirikiṉṟōmukku (to us who are wandering as servants to you alone). (P. T. 92.4.)
Neṭumālukku aruḷ ceytāṉai (him who has shown grace to Viṣṇu). (T. 217.2.)
Tēvarkaḷukku amutu īntāṉai (to him who supplied the devas with nectar). (T. 217.2.)

3.213311. *EXAMINATION OF DR. CALDWELL'S VIEWS*: Dr. Caldwell says that 'the masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *aṉ*, *āṉ* or *ōṉ*. An, the shorter formative is that which appears in the demonstrative pronoun *avaṉ* (*a-(v)-aṉ*)'.[1] He further says that 'indeed, *āṉ* and *ōṉ* have evidently been formed not from *aṉ*, but from *a-v-aṉ* by the softening of the euphonic *v* and the coalescence of the vowels'.[2]

The first statement that *aṉ*, *āṉ* or *ōṉ* is the masculine singular suffix falls to the ground from the mention made by Tolkāppiyaṉār that it is only *ṉ*[3] that denotes it. It is shown in my article on Cuṭṭeluṭṭu[4] that *a* of *aṉ* is a demonstrative root.

1. C. D. G. 223.
2. C. D. G. 225.
3. *Ṉaṅkā ṉ-orṟē y-āṭūu v-aṟi-col.* (Tol. Col. 5.
4. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.

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As regards the second point that *āṉ* and *ōṉ* are the corrupted forms of *avaṉ*, it may be stated that '*a*' and '*a*' never coalesce into *ā* in Tamil, nor can *v* be softened to *u* so that *a* and *u* may become *ō* as in Sanskrit. Besides we would have to explain the origin of *aṉ* in *avaṉ*. We should be moving in a circle if we say that the masculine singular suffix *aṉ* came from *āṉ* which came from *avaṉ*, and *avaṉ* was formed from *a* and *aṉ*. *Āṉ* itself may be changed to *ōṉ* by making *ā* more a close vowel, in the same way as the final *a* in Sanskrit is pronounced like *o* by Bengalis.

Similarly it may be said with respect to the feminine singular suffix *ḷ*.

Dr. Caldwell says 'that every Dravidian noun is naturally neuter, or destitute of gender, and it becomes masculine or feminine solely in virtue of the addition of a masculine or feminine suffix'.[1]

In our present state of knowledge, it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether inflected forms in Tamil with gender and number suffixes arose from certain proethnic Dravidian vocables in accordance with what Jespersen[2] calls the theory of secretion through a process of disentanglement of final elements and their adaptation as suffixes; or whether, as Dr. Caldwell seems to be inclined to believe, such forms in Tamil arose from pro-ethnic Dravidian neuters through the composition of certain pronominal elements denoting gender and number. However, a careful examination of the oldest available Tamil grammar, *viz.*, Tolkāppiyam emboldens me to say that so far as Tamil, in its earliest period, is concerned, the gender in nouns must have been determined mainly by their *meanings* and not by their *suffixes*. It would be of advantage to bear in mind in this connection that Tolkāppiyaṉār plainly says that the suffixes *ṉ*, *ḷ*, *r*, etc. need not necessarily be used after *nouns* to indicate gender and number, though they must be invariably used after *verbs*.[3]

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1. C. D. G. 229.
2. J. L. P. 383.
3. *Iruṭiṇai maruṅki ṉa-iṁ-pā l-aṟiyu*
   Īṟṟiṉiṉ ṟ-icaikkum paṭiṉō r-eḻuttun
   Toṟṟaṉ tāmē viṉai-y-oṭu varum-ē. (Tol. Col. 10.)

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Dr. Caldwell says that the epicene pluralising particles in Tamil are *ar, ār, ōr; ir, īr*[1]; *mar, mār*[2] and *var*[3].

Since *ar, ār,* and *ōr* are used in connection with third person plurals and *ir* and *īr* in connection with second person plurals, it is evident thar '*r*' alone denotes the epicene plural as is mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

As regards '*var*' he says that it is the abbreviated form of *avar*, on the basis of its presence in the word *nālvar*. But it seems to me that, since *v* is only an intervocalic element in *oruvar, iruvar, mūvar, aivar, aṟuvar,* it may be said that *v* in *nālvar* has crept in through analogy with the above forms; or it may have been the corrupted form of *mār,* since *m* can change to *v* very easily.

What is the origin of mar? It is worth investigating whether it is made up of the two pluralising particles *m* and *r* with a connecting vowel *a*. M is found to be the pluralising particle in the first personal pronoun *nām, yām* and in the oblique case base *em* and in the verbal terminations *em, ēm, kum, ṭum, tum* and *ṟum* of the first person plural. I am glad to see that M.J. Vinson already suggested this in 1911 in his article La Pluriel Primitif em-M-(J.A. Dixieme Serie Tome 17).

Again, Dr. Caldwell says that the verbal terminations *mar, mār* and *maṉār* are not identical with the epicene pluralising articles *mar* and *mār*, since in verbs *m* denotes the future tense as *b* or *v* and hence it may have been the modification of *b* or *v*. But this cannot be taken as absolutely true since Tolkāppiyaṉār has not definitely stated the tense signs, and makes us infer that the tense was determined mostly by context. This will be dealt with in detail in the section on verbs.

3.21332. *DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS*:—Pronouns may be divided into (1) Personal Pronouns (2) Demonstrative Pronouns (2) Reflexive Pronouns (4) Interrogative Pronouns (5) Relative Pronouns (6) Pronouns derived from numerals and (7) Indefinite Pronouns.

3.213321. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*:—Personal pronouns consist of pronouns of the first person and the second person. There is no personal pronoun in Tamil for the third person since

1. C. D. G. 239.
2. C. D. G. 240.
3. C. D. G. 241.

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the demonstrative pronoun itself serves its purpose. The declension of the first and second personal pronouns in the ancient, medieval and modern periods is as follows:—

3.2133211. FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN (ANCIENT PERIOD).

Case:	*Singular*:	*Plural*:	
1st case	*yāṉ*	*yām*	*nām*
2nd case	*eṉṉai*	*emmai*	*nammai*
3rd case	*eṉṉāṉ* *eṉṉoṭu*	*emmāṉ* *emmoṭu*	*nammāṉ* *nammoṭu*
4th case	*eṉakku*	*emakku*	*namakku*
5th case	*eṉṉiṉ*	*emmiṉ*	*nammiṉ*
6th case	*eṉatu* *eṉakku*	*ematu* *emakku*	*namatu* *namakku*
7th case	*eṉkaṇ*	*eṅkaṇ*	*naṅkaṇ*

(MEDIEVAL AND MODERN PERIODS)

1st case *yāṉ*	*nāṉ*	*yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, naṅkaḷ*
2nd case *eṉṉai*		*emmai, eṅkaḷai; nammai*
3rd case *eṉṉāl, eṉṉoṭu, eṉṉōṭu*		*emmāl, eṅkaḷāl; nammāl* *emmōṭu, eṅkaḷōṭu; nammōṭu* *emmoṭu, eṅkaḷoṭu; nammoṭu*
4th case *eṉakku* (*nēkku colloq.*)		*emakku, eṅkaḷukku; namakku*
5th case *eṉṉiṉ*		*emmiṉ, eṅkaḷiṉ; nammiṉ*
6th case *eṉatu* (if it is followed by a singular noun)		*ematu, eṅkaḷatu; namatu* (if it is followed by a singular noun)
eṉa (if it is followed by a plural noun)		*ema eṅkaḷa; nama* (if it is followed by a plural noun)
7th case *eṉkaṇ, eṉṉil*, etc.		*eṅkaṇ, eṅkaḷiṉkaṇ, naṅkaṇ*, etc.

(The *collurupu* like *poruṭṭu*, etc. mentioned by the author of Vīracōḻiyam and the later grammarians are also added in all periods.)

YĀṈ NĀṈ: As regards the first person singular nominative Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned only *yāṉ*.[1] The authors of Vīracōḻiyam and Naṉṉūl and the later grammarians have mentioned *nāṉ* also. They have done so since *nāṉ* began to be used in literature before the time of the author of Vīracōḻiyam. The following quotations may serve as examples for the same. *nāṉ ceṉṟu nāṭi* (I having approached) (P. T. 128.1.); *nāṉ ōr tuṇai*

1. *Tāṉ-vā ṉ-eṉṉu m-āyi r-iṟutiyum*
Mēṉ-mup peyaroṭum vēṟupā ṭ-ilavē. (Tol. E. 193.)

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kāṇēṉ (I do dot find any help-mate) (T. V. 25.10.). The form *nāṉ* may have been formed through analogy with *ñāṉ*, the nominative case plural.

Eṉṉōṭṭu: As regards *eṉṉōṭṭu*, the third case singular, it is evident that it has been formed from *eṉṉoṭṭu* by the lengthening of *o* to *ō*.

Eṉa: As regards *a* in *eṉa* as a sixth case-suffix, *vide* 3.213232. *supra*.

Yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, nāṅkaḷ: Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned only *yām* and *nām*.[1] The author of Vīracōḻiyam has mentioned in V. V. 9[2] that *nām* is used as honorific singular and *nāṅkaḷ* as plural. Its commentator adds *yām* to the former and *yāṅkaḷ* to the latter. Evidently *yāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ* are cases of double plurals. It is worth noting that *kaḷ* can be used only after *m* the pluralising particle, unlike some *uyartiṇai* nouns like *vacukkaḷ*, *nōṉpikaḷ* where *kaḷ* is directly added to the singular form of the noun. Such forms are not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are found, it seems, for the first time in Cilappatikāram. (e.g. *yāṅkaḷum*—Cilap. 298.161.) Though Naṉṉūlār mentions only *yām, nām* in Na. 287, yet the forms *yāṅkaḷ* and *nāṅkaḷ* are acceptable to him under the general sūtra No. 278. The later grammarians have followed the authors of Vīracōḻiyam and Naṉṉūl. The reason why the author of Vīracōḻiyam says so is that examples where *nām* is used as honorific singular, and *nāṅkaḷ* and *yāṅkaḷ* as plurals were found in plenty in the literature written before his time. The necessity for the forms *yāṅkaḷ, nāṅkaḷ* may have arisen from the desire of the speakers to distinguish the plural from the honorific singular. The following quotations may serve as examples:—

Yām piṇitta neṭunal yāṉai (Elephant caught by me yesterday) (P.N. 162.5.) Here *yām* is honorific singular.

Nām toḻutum eḻu neñcamē (I worship; oh! mind rise) (P.T. 120.1.) Here *nām* is honorific singular.

Nāṅkaḷ uyyēmē (We will not live.) (P.T. 92.1.)

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1. *T'ā-nā m-ēṉṉu makara viṟutiyum*
   Yām-e ṉ-iṟutiyu m-etaṉō r-aṉṉa
   Ā-ey y-ākum yām-e ṉ-iṟuti
   Yā-vayiṉ yakara-mey keṭutal vēṇṭum
   Ēṉai r-iraṇṭu neṭu-mutal kuṟukum.
2. See f. n. 37 *infra*. (ibid. 189.)

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Yāṅkaḷum nīṅkeṟippaṭarkutum (We shall also go through the long path.) (Cilap. 469.4.)

Eṅkaḷai, eṅkaḷāl, etc. These are double plurals formed from the base *em,* but not from the other base *nam.*

Ema, eṅkaḷa; nama: The reason for the appearance of these forms is the same as that for *eṉa.*

The following quotations may serve for the forms of double plurals mentioned above.

Naṅkaḷ perumāṇai (our lord) (T.V. 7.67).
Eṅkaḷ perumāṉ (our lord) (T.V. 7.75).
Eṅkaḷ māl iṟaivaṉ (our lord Viṣṇu) (P.T. 112.2).
Eṅkaḷukku aruḷ ceykiṉṟa īcaṉai (God who shows grace to us) (P.T. 151.3).

It may be noted that words having the sixth case-suffix omitted are much larger in number than those with them.

N in yāṉ, eṉṉai, eṉṉoṭu, etc. This may have been the particle denoting the masculine singular. Originally, these words may have been used by the male member of a family and they may have been used even by the female member. But Dr. Caldwell does not agree with this view.[1]

He says "I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this or from any of the facts mentioned, that the initial *n* of *nāṉ* is of modern origin..... *Nāṉ* is represented as we have seen, as alternating with *yāṉ* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil."[2] He has made this statement only on the strength of Naṉṉūl. He would not have made this statement had he seen that Tolkāppiyaṉār has not made mention of *nāṉ.*

Dr. Caldwell says "In all the Dravidian dialects with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the *plural inclusive;* the other excludes the party addressed and denotes only the party of the speaker and may be called *plural exclusive.* The colloquial Tamil forms the plural exclusive from *nām,* the ordinary regular plural by addition of *gaḷ,* which is properly a neuter sign of plurality."[3] This is not wholly true even so far as the modern colloquial Tamil is concerned, since

1. C. D. G. 370.
2. C. D. G. 367.
3. C. D. G. 414 and 415.

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nām may also denote third persons standing by the side of the speaker. Since at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, there were not two forms, but only one form, there was absolutely no room for the classification as the plural exclusive and the plural inclusive. The author of Vīracōḻiyam says that *nām* was used as honorific singular and *nāṁkaḷ* as plural.[1] But the author of Naṉṉūl mentions in connection with the personal terminations at the end of verbs that *am* and *ām* are used in the first person plural to include the person spoken to, and *cm*, *ēm* and *ōm* to exclude the person spoken to.[2]

Nēkkiṉ: The initial vowel *e* in *eṉakkiṉ* is dropped and consequently *'a'* following *ṉ* is changed to e and then lengthened to *ē* by compensation. Since *ṉ* cannot be initial, it is changed to *ñ*. The existence of two different bases *eṉ* and *nam* in the oblique cases, respectively of the singular and plural in Tamil is similar to that of the bases *mat* and *asmat*, of the 1st person singular and plural in Sanskrit. Besides, the element *m* is found in the plural bases of both.

Collective first personal pronoun: There is a collective first personal pronoun *elām* mentioned by Naṉṉūlār (Na. 287). This remains the same in all cases, and is preceded by the oblique forms of *yām* and *nām* as *emmai-y-elām*, *nammai-y-elām*, *eṁkaḷai-y-elām*, etc. Another collective personal pronoun is *ellām* which is said to be used for all personal pronouns. (Tol. E. 190 & 191, and Na. 285.) This *ellām* was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār as *ellānammaiyum*, *ellānammāṉum*, etc., if it referred to first or second personal pronoun or *uyartiṇai* demonstrative pronoun. It seems to me that, since the forms *ellīrum* and *ellārum* and their oblique forms were exclusively used in the second, and the third, person respectively, *ellānammaiyum* began to be used only to denote the first person at a later time. (Na. 245. K.) But at the present day it is not thus

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1. *Uṉṉum-eṉṉum-taṉṉum yāvum-avvṟm-ivvu m-uvvum-evvum*
   Eṉṉuṁ-ivaṟṟiṉ-muṉ ṉī-nāṉ-ṟāṉ-cu-v-varil yā-mutala
   Vaṉṉum-vaḻḻun-tuvvum vaīyauñ-ciṟappi-ṉīr nāṁoṭu-tām
   Piṉṉil-aintum-var palariṟ-kaḻḻōṭṭu-var kaḷ-ḷ-eṉparē. (V. V. 9.)
2. *Am-ām eṉpaṉa muṉṉilai y-āraiyum*
   Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-āraiyum
   Um-ūr ka-ṭa-ṟa iru-pā l-āraiyum
   Taṉ-ṉ-otu paṭukkun taṉmai-p panmai-p paṉmai. (Na. 333.)

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declined, the form *ellām* itself being after the case forms *nammai, nammāl,* etc. (e. g. *nammai-y-ellām, nammāl-ellām,* etc.) Sanskrit does not have a similar collective first personal pronoun.

3.2133212. *Second Personal Pronoun (Ancient Period).*

Case:	Singular:	Plural.
1st case	*nī*[1]	*nīyir*[2]
2nd case	*niṉṉai*	*nummai*
3rd case	*niṉṉoṭu, niṉṉāṉ*	*nummoṭu, nummāṉ*
4th case	*niṉakku*	*numakku*
5th case	*niṉṉiṉ*	*nummiṉ*
6th case	*niṉatu, niṉakku*	*numatu, numakku*
7th case	*niṉkaṇ*	*nuṁkaṇ*

(Medieval and Modern Periods).

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case	*nī*	[3]*nīyir, ṉīvir, nīr; nīyirkaḷ, nīvirkaḷ, ṉīrkaḷ, nīm, nīṁkaḷ.*
2nd case	*niṉṉai, nuṉṉai, uṉṉai*	*nummai, ummai, uṁkaḷai.*
3rd case	*niṉṉāl, nuṉṉāl, uṉṉāl*	*nummāl ummāl, uṁkaḷāl.*
	niṉṉoṭu, nuṉṉoṭu, uṉṉoṭu.	*nummoṭu, ummoṭu, uṁkaḷoṭu.*
	niṉṉōṭu, nuṉṉōṭu, uṉṉōṭu	*nummōṭu, ummōṭu, uṁkaḷōṭu.*
4th case	*niṉakku, nuṉakku, uṉakku* (*nōkku-Colloq.*)	*numakku umakku, uṁkaḷukku.*
5th case	*niṉṉiṉ, nuṉṉiṉ, uṉṉiṉ*	*nummiṉ, ummiṉ, uṁkaḷiṉ.*
6th case	*niṉatu, nuṉatu, uṉatu*	*numatu, umatu, uṁkaḷatu.*
	niṉa, nuṉa, uṉa	*numa, uma.*

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1. *Nī-y-e ṉ-onu-peyar neṭumutal kuṟukum*
   Ā-vayiṉ ṉ-akara m-oṟṟā kummē. (Tol. E. 180.)
   Avaṟṟuḷ
   Nī-y-eṉ kiḷavi y-orumai-k k-urittē. (Tol. Col. 169.)
2. *Nīyir nī-y-eṉa varūuṁ kiḷavi*
   Pāṟeri pilavē y-uṭaṇ-moḷi-p poruḷa. (ibid. 188.)
   Ēṉai-k kiḷavi paṉmai-k k-uriṭṭē. (ibid 190.)
3. *Taṉmai pāṉ-nāṉ yām.nām muṉṉilai*
   Ellīr nīyir nīvir nīr nī
   Allaṇa paṭarkkai ellā m.eṉal potu. (Na. 285.)

Paṉmaiyil *nīrkaḷ, nīṁkaḷ*....eṉavum varum; nīrkaḷ eṉpatū *nīyirkaḷ nīvirkaḷ* eṉa ātēcam ātalum uṇṭū. (V. V. 9. Comm.)

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7th case *niṉkaṇ, iṉṉkaṇ, uṉkaṇ, nuṁkaṇ, uṁkaṇ, uṁṭaḷiṉkaṇ,*
etc. etc.

Nīyir: The nominative form *nēyir* is said to have been derived from the oblique case form *num* by Tolkāppiyaṉār[1] and hence it may be said that it was later than the oblique case form *num*. It also seems to me that it may have been derived from *nī* by the addition of '*ir*' the pluralising particle of the second person.

1. *Num-m-iṉ ṟiri-peyar viṉāviṉ peyar-eṉṟû*
A-m-muṟai y-iraṇṭu m-avaṟṟiyal piyalum. (Tol. Col. 143.)
Num-m-e ṉ-iṟuti yi-yaṟkai yākum. (Tol. E. 188.)

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PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS AS REVEALED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS.

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INTRODUCTORY.

A careful study of the Kādambarī and the Harṣacarita reveals, apart from the poetic talent of Bāṇa, his cultivated taste as an aesthete and his versatile genius, which accounts for his observations on so many useful and fine arts in his works. It was not in vain that as a youth he moved in the company of friends and companions of varied professions including an artist and a sculptor.[1] His thoughts, descriptions, accuracy of colour and observation of minor details together with his association with masters of the brush and chisel encourage us to conjecture that he was also an artist.

The references to painting in Bāṇa's works lead the reader to the supposition that the time of the poet was characterised by an almost universal enthusiasm for art; and the mention of Citraśālās or art galleries in palaces and mansions speaks highly of the refined taste of the princes and noblemen. Aestheticism is not the exclusive boast of the high-born. People as a whole are generally of a very high cultural average. The city is full of art galleries filled with the pictures of Devas, Dānavas, Siddhas, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Nāgas, etc.[2] These Citraśālās appear like Vimānas came down to the earth to witness the beautiful women come there to see works of art, every day being one of festivity with them. Imagine the state of a kingdom with

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1. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च.....चित्रकृद्वीरवर्मा, पुत्तकृत्कुमारदत्तः H. C. p. 42.

2. सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोरगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्रशालाभिरविरतोत्सवप्रमदावलोकनकुतूहलादम्बरतलादवतीर्णाभिर्दिव्यविमानपङ्क्तिभिरिवालंकृता Kā, p. 9,9.

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its cities enjoying joyous festivities eternally as a rule, with its women taking a pleasure in witnessing pictures in art galleries not with a dilettantish ostentation but with a real capacity to understand and appreciate art! Imagine the glory of a big art-house built in the style of a Vimāna[1] (for a Vimāna it ought have been as the text gives us); and that, not one, but rows of buildings of inexhaustible store! Imagine next the brain and inventive capacity of an artist who could fill all the buildings with pictures every one of them the acme of perfection!

Local patriotism and narrow sympathies never mar the king's appreciation of beauty from whichever quarter it came and from whatever distance. Great Śilpins are invited from various countries to take part in the decoration of the palace before the marriage of Rājyaśrī.[2] The usual honours done to them as also to the architects by offering flowers, sandal paste and new clothes[3] are as a matter of course or duty as we gather from the Śilparatna where Sthapatis, Citrajñas, Takṣakas and Vardhakis are stated as people to be respected by the excellence of their character and profession.[4]

There are four points to be considered before the production of any picture, and they are: what to paint, on what to paint, with what to paint and how to paint. In other words, the types of pictures, the grounds, the materials and the process demand our attention. Under the last head come sketch, colour, anatomy and pose. Apart from these aforestated it is proposed to deal with the allied art of sculpture and a few minor arts also in this article.

Types of Pictures.

The subjects for pictures given by Bāṇa are quite in accordance with the rules laid down in Śilpa texts. 'The town giving a picture of the Universe on its walls'[5] and 'the Royal

1. Regarding the Citraśālā we have ample information in the Nārada Śilpa wherein the building is described as ornamented by a small Gopura in the front and having Sikharakalaśas, etc. thus satisfying the lakṣaṇa 'Vimāna' given by Bāṇa. It should possess various pictures including those of Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc.
2. सकलदेशादिश्यमानशिल्पिसार्थागमनम् H. C. p. 142.
3. सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम् H. C. p. 142.
4. तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्थपत्यादिचतुष्टयः ॥ Śilparatna, p. 5.
5. दर्शितविश्वरूपवैचित्र्यभित्तिभिः Kā, p. 103.

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household displaying the manifold and wonderful features of the inmates of the three worlds through pictorial lines (pictures in art galleries)'[1] can well be compared with Śrīkumāra's remarks in the Citra chapter of the Śilparatna where he asserts the capability of representing the three worlds in picture as the first requisite of a good artist.[2] It would thus appear curious that art galleries should possess representations of only demi-gods like Siddhas and Nāgas when the field for the choice of subjects for pictures is so very wide. To remove any misapprehension arising out of a previous statement of his about the demi-gods in art galleries Bāṇa specially gives out elsewhere that 'picture houses are adorned with paintings of leaves (foliage decoration) and birds of various hues.'[3] We are not to restrict ourselves to leaves and birds alone on this account. It serves merely to show that the demi-gods do dot monopolise the scope of painting.

Every object in the universe cannot find a place everywhere. Occasion and propriety go a good way to settle this affair. Only certain pictures can be kept in houses, certain others in temples and yet others in public galleries. On auspicious occasions pictures of an auspicious character are generally painted on the house-walls. It does not mean that at other times inauspicious pictures found a way into people's houses. Two auspicious occasions are mentioned by Bāṇa when painters were called on to work on the walls. The pregnant queen of Tārāpīḍa spends her time of delivery in 'a palace newly plastered with white and captivating the heart by the wealth of auspicious pictures painted fresh on the walls.'[4] The marriage of Rājyaśrī is another occasion when the brush of the artist runs over the wall to decorate it. Ordinary workmen won't do. The king is a man of taste and has sent for expert painters from various countries and these, not one or two but many (since a large number is required to paint big palaces), are engaged in drawing auspicious pictures.[5] The Viṣṇudharmottara and other Śilpa works lay

1. चित्रलेखादर्शितविचित्रसकलत्रिभुवनाकाराम् Kā, p. 176.
2. जङ्गमा वा स्थावरा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।
तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥ Śilparatna, p. 244.
3. आलेख्यगृहैरिव बहुवर्णचित्रपत्रशकुनिशतसशोभितैः Kā, p. 241.
4. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहारिणि Kā, p. 136.
5. चतुरचित्रकरचक्रवाललिख्यमानमङ्गल्यालेख्यम् H. C. p. 142.

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emphasis on this aspect of the auspicious nature of pictures in a house. The Śilparatna has it that auspicious stories from the Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Āgamas and pictures from Dhyāna-ślokas painted in appropriate colours, proportions and emotions (rasas) yield good results to both the master of the house and the artist.[1] The Viṣṇudharmottara lays down

शृङ्गारहास्यशान्त्याख्या लेखनीया गृहेषु ते ॥
परशेषा न कर्तव्या कदाचिदपि कस्यचित् ।
देववेश्मनि कर्तव्या रसाः सर्वे नृपालये ॥
राजवेश्मनि नो कार्या राज्ञां वासगृहेषु ते ।
सभावेश्मसु कर्तव्या राज्ञां सर्वरसा गृहे ॥
वर्जयित्वा सभां राज्ञो देववेश्म तथैव च ।
युद्धश्मशानकरुणामृतदुःखार्तकुत्सितान् ॥
अमङ्गल्यांश्च न लिखेत् कदाचिदपि वेश्मसु । Citrasūtra.

Another and a less auspicious type of picture adorning houses is the portrait. The departed soul is painted on a suitable surface and every such addition enhances the number of the family portraits. Thus when we read of Prabhākaravardhana as only existent in a picture[2] we know that one more has been added to the family portraits of Harṣa's household.

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1. स्वागमाखिलवेदादिपुराणोक्तकथान्वितम् ।
नानावर्णान्वितं रम्यं न न्यूनं नाधिकं क्वचित् ॥
तत्र तत्रोचिताकाररसभावक्रियान्वितम् ।
चित्रं विचित्रफलदं भर्तुः कर्तुश्च सर्वदा ॥
अतोऽन्यदशुभं चित्रं विपरीतफलप्रदम् ।
न लेखयेत् तत्र लिखेल्लोकद्वयसुखेच्छया ॥ Śilparatna, p. 245.

2. चितावशेषाकृतौ काव्यशेषनाम्नि नरनाथे H. C. p. 175.

The word चितावशेषाकृतौ can better be चित्रावशेषाकृतौ in the light of what follows and the better meaning it gives. The custom of painting a king after his death is stated by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa.

बाष्पायमानो बलिमन्निकेतमार्लेख्यशेषस्य पितुर्विवेश Canto XIV, Śl. 15.

It is Indumati's picture that consoles Aja to some extent after her death.

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The Yamapaṭa is a horrible ominous picture generally shunned by all though quite useful in bringing home to the minds of people the ephemeral nature of the world and the retribution awaiting sinners in Hell voiced tremendously in those apparently silent horrid lines depicting the horrors of Hades. The picture was familiar in Ancient India and the suffering of sinners was an important picture theme till very recently. Any curious visitor of the Madras Museum might observe this theme painted on a big cloth by the Kālahasti workmen some generations back. References to Yamapaṭa are numerous in Sanskrit literature. The familiar sight of the Yamapaṭṭika[1] going through crouded bazaar streets followed by bands of urchins eagar to see the picture of the Nether world and its monarch suspended from a big pole is one of the various omens that perturb the mind of Prince Harṣa hurrying to meet his father.[2] That this picture was painted exclusively on cloth is stated elsewhere in the Harṣa Carita.[3]

A popular picture of the bedroom is that of cupid. Determined to die on the funeral pyre with Candrāpīḍa's body, Kādambarī gives her last injunctions to her dear friend Madalekhā one of which is the destroying of the picture of cupid above her head in her residence.[4] Bāṇa deliberately uses the word Vāsabhavana here with the obvious purpose perhaps of emphasising the almost exclusive privilege of Śṛṅgāra pictures in residential mansions where most other types of paintings were forbidden.

तेनाष्टौ परिगणिताः समाः कथंचिद्बालत्वादविदितथसूनृतेन सूनोः ।
सादृश्यप्रतिकृतिदर्शनैः प्रियायाः स्वप्नेषु क्षणिकसमागमोत्सवैश्च ॥
Canto VIII, Sl. 92.

The Prātimānāṭaka talks of statues of dead kings.

1. One who makes a living by a show of the picture Yamapaṭa.

2. प्रविशन्नेव च विपणिवर्त्मनि कुतूहलाकुलबहलबालकपरिवृतमूर्ध्वयष्टि-विष्कम्भविततेवामहस्तवर्तिनि भीषणमहिषाधिरूढप्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे परलोकव्यतिकरमितरकरकलितेन शरकाण्डेन कथयन्तं यमपट्टिकं ददर्श ।
H. C., p. 153.

3. यमपट्टिका इवाम्बरे चित्रमालिखन्त्युद्गीतकाः H. C. p. 138.

4. वासभवने मे शिरोभागनिहितः कामदेवपटः पाटनीयः Kā, p. 536.

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The Viṣṇudharmottara is emphatic on the proper choice of pictures for the household. The poet finds another opportunity to emphasise this aspect of decorating a 'dwelling house' wi h cupid's figures in the Harṣacarita. The newly wedded bride, Rājyaśrī, and her husband enter the Vāsagṛha whose doorway is adorned with the picture of cupid.[1] In one corner of the chamber is painted another figure of cupid busy straightening his arrow with his eyes half-closed under the shade of a Raktāśoka tree.[2]

Just as cupid's pictures were common to all dwellings there appear to have been certain special pictures for royal households. Painted Cāmaragrāhiṇīs fan Yaśovatī while asleep in the days of her pregnancy.[3] Rājyavardhana and Harṣa are so powerful that they expect homage even from the painted vassal Kings on the walls of the palace.[4] Chowries being an important insignia of royalty Cāmaragrāhiṇīs were common in royal households; and this easily accounts for their picture on the palace walls. Defeated princes were also painted in royal mansions to glorify the particular king who conquered them. The custom of painting kings was not restricted to defeated rulers; and the members of the victorious royal family had a prominent place in such representations.[5] A pathetic verse from the Kāvyaprakāśa gives out how kings, princesses, chamberlains etc., were pictured on the wall—so true to life was the representation that the parrot mistakes them for the originals.[6] This formed perhaps the house-

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1. प्रविवेश च द्वारपक्षलिखितरतिप्रीतिदैवतम् H. C., p. 148.

2. एकदेशालिखितस्तबकितरक्ताशोकतरुतलभाजाधिज्यचापेन तिर्यक्कूणित-नेत्रत्रिभागेन शरमृजू कुर्वता कामदेवेनाधिष्ठितम् H. C., p. 148.

3. सुतया वासभवने चित्रभित्तिचामरग्राहिण्योऽपि चामराणि चालयांचक्रुः H. C., p. 127.

4. आलेख्यक्षितिपतिभिरप्यप्रणम्रैः संतप्यमानचरणौ H. C., p. 136.

5. Big life-size paintings of the Maharatta Kings of Tanjore may be seen even to this day on the walls of the big Court-hall in the Palace at Tanjore.

6. राजन् राजसुता न पाठयति मां देव्योऽपि तूष्णीं स्थिताः
कुब्जे भोजय मां कुमारसचिवैर्नाद्यापि संभुज्यते ।
इत्थं नाथ शुकस्तवारिभवने मुक्तोऽध्वगैः पञ्जरा-
चित्रस्थानवलोक्य शून्यवलभावेकैकमाभाषते ॥ Kāvyaprakāśa, X Ullāsa.

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hold picture gallery. A type of this is found in the Mālavikāgnimitra where Agnimitra's queen gets a picture painted of herself and her companions. The Rāmāyaṇa episodes pictured on the walls of the art gallery in the Uttararāmacarita[1] come only under this head. Another picture of the aristocratic household is the cakravāka painted usually to amuse women in the harem.[2]

Grounds.

Bāṇa is aware of many grounds on which to draw or paint. Very commonly known and of a rather permanent nature are the wooden board, the canvas and the walls of buildings. It was not an uncommon practice in India to draw and paint creepers, dragons and such things on the body to heighten the beauty of particular spots which on that account formed the ground. This practice was not restricted to the human body alone. Majestic elephants of royal courts were profusely decorated with designs of creepers. Drawing and painting on vessels is an age long custom in our land. Another and a more natural ground is the floor or the bare ground giving ample scope for clever women to draw fine free-hand drawings in colour powders. All these are too well known to Bāṇa, and what is more, he is very well aware that any ground is alright for a good drawing provided one has eleverness of execution; and the stone slab that served the purpose of a canvas or board when neither was procurable to gladden the heart of a lover by a picture of the beloved one is not overlooked.[3] The simple artist in a sylvan sorrounding resorts to a slab to draw his flowery curves and the shepherd boy Giotto was found by the great master Cimabue in the very act of drawing pictures of his sheep on a piece of stone and discovered in those rude lines the genius and makings of a great artist.

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1. Bhavabhūti's reference to an art gallery in the Uttararāmacarita is based on the śloka of Kālidāsa.

तयोर्यथाप्रार्थितमिन्द्रियार्थानासेदुषोः सद्मसु चित्रवत्सु ।
प्राप्तानि दुःखान्यपि दण्डकेषु संचिन्त्यमानानि सुखान्यभूवन् ॥ Raghuvaṁśa XIV, 25.

2. दिवसावसानेषु विश्लेषभीता मृणालसूत्रैश्चित्रभित्तिवेलिखितानि चक्रवाकमिथुनानि संघटयति । Kā., p. 446.

3. अत्र च स्नानार्थमागतया भगवत्या पार्वत्या तटशिलातलेषु विलिखितानि सभृङ्गिरिटीनि पांशुनिमग्नकृशपदमण्डलानुमितमुनिजनप्रणामप्रदक्षिणानि त्र्यम्बकप्रतिबिम्बकानि वन्दमाना Kā., p. 262.

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It would not be out of place here to note the different possible grounds for the execution of pictures given by Mr. G. B. Brown of Edinburgh University in his article on Painting in the Encyclopaedia Britannica where under the head 'Surfaces covered by the Painter' he writes 'many important questions connected with the technique of painting depend on the nature of surfaces; for the covering coat—though from the present point of view only of interest aesthetically—may, as we have seen, originally serve a utilitarian purpose. The surface in question may be classed as follows: the human body; implements, vessels, weapons, articles of dress; objects of furniture, including books; boats and ships; walls and other parts of buildings; panels and other surfaces prepared especially or entirely to be painted on.'[1]

MATERIALS.

Pencils, colours and brushes are the most important of artists' materials. The pencil of the poet's day was the Vartikā, a kind of stump, with which figure-outlines were generally drawn. Colours, though important as materials, are more the products of mixing and blending which involve skill and work. Hence their separate treatment under the general heading 'Process'. The brushes are therefore the only things to be considered under this head. Bāṇa is aware of the necessity of separate brushes for separate colours. The Kālāñjanavartikā is an exclusive brush for applying black.[2] Varṇasudhākūrcaka is for the use of white.[3] The Śilparatna recommends three brushes—large, small and medium for every colour. The technical term 'colour wash' so well known in the parlance of water-colour artists is specifically stated by Bāṇa and the word-coincidence of English and Sanskrit is surprising.[4] 'Kūrcakākṣālana' is exactly the word for 'brush wash'. 'Ācchuraṇa' is 'stippling' with Varṇasudhācchaṭas—colour particles or dots.[5] Blending and mixing of colours, Bāṇa styles 'Varṇasamkara.'[6] Varṇasamkara is according to the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi of two kinds;

1. Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.
2. रूपालेख्योन्मीलनकालाञ्जनवर्तिका Kā., p. 465.
3. वर्णसुधाकूर्चकैरिव, कचैर्धवलितदशाशामुखे चन्द्रमसि Kā., p. 527.
4. इन्दुकरकूर्चकैरिवाक्षालिताम् Kā., p. 246,
5. वर्णसुधाच्छटाभिरिवाच्छुरितां Kā., p. 246.
6. चित्रकर्मसु वर्णसंकरः Kā., p. 10.

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gradation of the same colour from light to shade or *vice versa*—in which blending plays the major part, and mixing of different colours to produce the desired effect or variety of tints.[1] Though very often the poets talk of Varnatūlikā as the brush for delicate use such as soft colouring, touching and giving final strokes etc., it is only the Lekhinī of the Śilpa texts that they mean. After all the Lekhinī is only the Tūlikā with some fine animal hair added on to it. This is evident from Bāṇa's use of the word Tūlikā in a particular place where it can mean nothing else but Lekhinī.[2] Painted boards with tūtikās and gourds hanging to them are offered to the emperor Harṣa. The boards are fully painted and the work being complete there can be no more need for the cruder materials like the Vartikā or the ordinary Tūlikā as understood in the Śilpa texts. The pictures may at the most require a bit of touching if artistic circles at court so desire it. If so nothing more than a delicate brush would be required. Thus what Bāṇa means is plain enough. Good work requires more than one brush. Hence many are tagged on to every picture for ready use. The alābū or gourd might have been used in those days for stocking colours and such other essential artists' requisites. Being a light thing and capable of holding colours, pans etc.,—the alābū, as being used for this purpose cannot be considered too impossible a conjecture, especially when colours kept in cocoanut shells and holy ashes preserved in gourds are not uncommon sights even to-day.

Process.

The process of painting is an interesting study. Though for the most part the process of doing pictures on various surfaces is the same, it is not without differences of technique and method peculiar to each surface. We shall first take up wall-paintings. The Harṣacarita gives us some account of how walls are to be made fit for decoration. Plaster and sand is

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1. उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नदेशतः ।
एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविशेषतः ॥
मिश्रान् वर्णानधो वक्ष्ये वर्णसंयोगसम्भवान् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmani.

2. अवलम्बमानतूलिकालाबुकांश्च लिखितानालेख्यफलकसंपुटान् H. C. p. 217.

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applied to walls newly raised;[1] and men are engaged to white-wash the mansions of the king. With buckets of chunam hanging from their shoulders and long brushes in their hands, they ascend tall ladders to execute the work.[2] Plastering walls and painting them white is one of the preliminaries of wall-painting. Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi gives a fine surface as essential for a good picture and requires a smooth wall to be be carefully white-washed without a scratch or a blot.[3] Three coatings of white mud and Vajralepa account for this smoothness of surface.[4] The process of the Roman Vitruvius has 'three coats of plaster made of lime and sand, each one laid on when the one below is beginning to dry, and then three of plaster in which the place of sand is taken by marble dust, at first coarse, then finer, and in the uppermost coat of all in finest powder'.[5] In the case of even the Roman method the wall shines like a mirror. But too shining and too smooth a surface is not always quite convenient for drawing or painting. Māgha voices forth this opinion in his Śiśupālavadha where he humourously refers to the forms of youths reflected on the highly polished household walls of Dvāraka as serving the purpose of pictures that could not be executed on so smooth a surface.[6] It is this reason, perhaps, that made sand-plastering necessary. But we should not on this account think that Bāṇa was in favour of grainy walls. He more often than not talks of

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1. उत्थापिताभिनवभित्तिपात्यमानबहलवालुकाकण्ठकालेपाकुलालेपकलोकम्
H. C., p. 142.

2. उत्कूर्चककरैश्च सुधाकर्परस्कन्धैरधिरोहिणीसमारूढैर्धवैर्धवलीक्रियमाण-प्रासादप्रतोलीप्राकारशिखरम् H. C., p. 142.

3. सुधया निर्मितां भित्तिं श्लक्ष्णां क्षतविवर्जिताम् ।
लेपयेच्चित्रकर्मार्थे..... ॥ Abhilaṣitārthacintā-
maṇi.

4. आदाय मृत्तिकां श्वेतां वज्रलेपेन मिश्रयेत् ।
तया लेपं प्रकुर्वीत परिशुष्के त्रिवारतः ॥
शङ्खचूर्णं सितापिष्टं वज्रलेपसमन्वितम् ।
आदाय मृत्तिकां लिम्पेद्यावच्च श्लक्ष्णतां व्रजेत् ॥ Abhilaṣitārthacintā-
maṇi.

5. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.

6. यस्यामतिश्लक्ष्णतया गृहेषु विधातुमालेख्यमशक्नुवन्तः ।
चक्रुर्युवानः प्रतिबिम्बिताङ्गाः सजीवचित्रा इव रत्नभित्तीः ॥
Śiśupālavadha, III, 46.

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only highly polished walls mirror-like in their splendour. The walls of the palace of Vilāsavatī are perfectly white and are resplendent with fresh pictures painted on them.[1] In such places they are not spoken of as very glossy.

The surface prepared, the artist should first picture in his mind the thing he is going to put on wall, canvas or board. This Bāṇa calls Samkalpalekhā. It is this type of memory or mental picture of Kādambarī actually put on canvas that consoles Candrāpīḍa in her absence.[2] This is the same as the Bhāvagamya-citra of Kālidāsa.[3] Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi is very careful on this point and requires the artist to picture not only the form but also the exact proportion as would fill up the wall.[4] 'To think of the picture as if on the wall' is one of the injunctions laid down. The first task of an artist before drawing an outline—that of fixing general proportions by certain lines drawn preliminary—the Sūtrapātarekhā—is styled by Bāṇa Ārambhasūtra-pātarekhā.[5] The very word Sūtra indicates that these are mere short guides for bigger and more elaborate lines to follow. Sūtras like Brahmasūtra, Pakṣasūtra and Bahissūtra vary and fall at particular points on the canvas cutting particular parts of the form according as the Sthāna or pose is front, profile or three-

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1. प्रत्यग्रलिखितमङ्गल्यालेख्योज्ज्वलितभित्तिभागमनोहारिणि Kā., p. 136.

2. अपि च सहस्रैर्मकरध्वजशरासारैर्वपुषैव च सह क्षीयमाणमिव स्वल्पावशेषं संकल्पलिखितेन निर्विशेषवृत्तिना कादम्बरीशरीरेणैव सह कण्ठलग्नं कथं कथमपि जीवितं धारयन् Kā., p. 521.

जन्मकृतनया च भर्त्रा विरहविनोदनार्थमुटजाभ्यन्तरलिखिता यत्र रामनिवास-दर्शनोत्सुका एनरिव धरणीतलादुल्लसन्ती वनचररैद्याप्यालोक्यते Kā., p. 44

This also is of the same type.

3. आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा
मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती । Meghadūta II. Sl. 22.

This picture combines a bit of imagination also since the Yakṣa has to imagine her lord's wasted form in a seperated state.

4. प्राणी वा यदि वाऽप्राणी यत्प्रमाणमिति स्मृतम् ।
भित्तौ निवेशितस्यास्य दृश्यमानस्य चेतसा ॥
तन्मानेन लिखेल्लेखां सर्वाङ्गेषु विचक्षणः । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

5. वृत्तस्य यौवनारम्भसूत्रपातरेखा Kā., p. 466.

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quarters view and so forth. The commentator states clearly that all are agreed on the point of artists marking Sūtra lines;[1] and there is no meaning in certain translators and annotators of the Kādambarī giving the meaning of the phrase as 'a line marked by carpenters on wood to cut it with a saw.' Bāṇa actually refers to a sūtra—a line—that marks off the head from the chest falling about the middle of the neck.[2] Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi is elaborate on this question of Sūtra and Sthāna; and a much earliar work on painting, the Viṣṇudharmottara, which gives ample information on this topic, has been translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch who has taken great pains to explain this particular difficult portion of it by means of tables etc.

Perfectly conversant with the technical language of the artiste, Bāṇa uses precisely those words that admit of usage in particular places. He voices the opinion of text-books on painting, which are agreed in recommending the Vartikā for drawing outlines,[3] when he talks of the outline in black to be executed with the aid of a Vartikā.[4] The general drawing of a picture is usually transferred to the panel or board or wall as the case may be, by a process of pricking and pouncing and allowing

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1. नवीनप्रारम्भे शिल्पिभिः सूत्रपातरेखा क्रियते इति सर्वसंमतम्
Commentary on Kā., p, 466.

2. श्रीसरस्वत्योरुरोवदनोपभोगविभागसूत्रेणेव पातितेन शेषेणेव च तद्भुजस्तम्भविन्यस्तसमस्तभूभारलब्धविश्रान्तिसुखप्रसुप्तेन हारदण्डेन परिवलितकन्धरम्
H. C., p. 73

3. रूपालेख्योन्मीलनकालाञ्जनवर्तिका Kā., p. 455.

4. पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्याद्यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।
आकारजनिकां रेखां तिन्दुवर्तिविनिर्मिताम् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

5. This Tinduvarti is given as Kiṭṭavarti in the Śivatatvaratnākara. The Śilparatna calls it Kiṭṭalekhinī but says it is of the shape of a vartikā.

.....शोषयेत् किट्टलेखिनीम् ।
वर्त्याकारास्तथायामे द्वयत्र्यम्भोध्यङ्गुलात्मिकाः ।
..... ।
आलिखेत् किट्टलेखिन्या ..... । Śilparatna.

6. The Kiṭṭalekhinīs are shaped like Vartis and are two or three or four inches in length. The process of their make is almost the same as that of making the ordinary Vartikā.

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sufficient charcoal powder to settle on the surface to form an impression of the picture. The lines in black drawn with the Vartikā over this impression are final so far as the outline of the picture is concerned. It is this line in charcoal powder that Bāṇa brings in as a comparison to the romarāji (a thin delicate line of hairs) of Puṇḍarīka.[1]

His use of the word Citra-unmīlana is noteworthy[2] and is sufficiently singnificant when its true import is brought home to the reader's mind. We are sometimes struck with the likeness that a picture bears to its original and in such moments we do not too uncommonly utter the exclamation of surprise 'How life-like it is ! methinks the picture speaks !!';[3], in our calmer moods we say that the artist is a man of real mettle and that he has well succeeded in infusing life into the picture. It is this infusion of life in the picture that Bāṇa means when he uses the word 'Unmīlana.' Literally it means revivification; and it is surely that practically since the picture was dead to all appearances while the general work at it was going on. How long the term has been in the artists' vocabulary is not so easy to state. Kālidāsa knows and uses it in his Kumārasambhava.[4] Unmīlana is done according to him with the help of the fine brush Tūlikā. This done the picture looks finished.

Painting on cloth (canvas) or the board is simpler than working on the wall which involves an elaborate process and an additional advantage is the ease of carriage. These pictures could be hung or detached from the wall. Except for the lack of Sudhālepa or application of chunam,[5] the process of working on both is not essentially different from painting the wall.[6] The

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1. अञ्जनरजोलेखाश्यामलां रोमराजिमुदरेण तनीयसीं बिभ्राणम् । Kā, p. 264
2. प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोक्य Kā., p. 548.
3. Compare
   हसतीव च माधुर्यं सजीव इव दृश्यते ॥
   सश्वास इव यिच्चत्रं तच्चित्रं शुभलक्षणम् । Viṣṇudharmottara.
4. उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्यांशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
   बभूव तस्याश्चतुरश्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥ Kumārasambhava I, 32.
5. सुधालेपो न कर्तव्यश्चित्रार्थं फलकादिषु । Śilparatna, p. 246.
6. एवं धवलिते भित्तौ दर्पणोदरसन्निभे ।

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reference to princes sorrounding Tārāpīḍa drawing the portraits of their royal suzerain goes to show that Citrāphalakas were generally used to draw portraits.[1] Citrapaṭas were chiefly used, perhaps, for painting general pictures, types of which are the Yamapaṭa[2] and the Kāmadevapaṭa.[3]

The elaborate drawings of the floor[4]—the pride of housewives—involve a dexterity of the hand and a highly developed power of free-hand drawing in which our grand-mothers of generations gone by prided when they were but mere lassies. Bāṇa refers to this pleasing activity of women—that of bestirring themselves on auspicious occasions to decorate houses, especially the porches and door-ways. The Sūtikāgṛha of Vīṇāsavatī is auspiciously decorated by the womenfolk. On either side of the doorway and thereabouts are arranged shells over the ground smeared with cowdung—a fine set off of white specks over a darkgreen background—and interspersed between the shells (cowries) are colour powders, bits of charming multicoloured cotton, and over the colour streaks and lines flower petals, the beautiful ones of the lotus included. But that is not all. It is not mere design and colour that they know. Their knowledge of human form is manifested in the charming drawing of Bhagavatī Ṣaṣṭhī with her garment coloured orange with the juice of haridrā, in the magnificent form of Kārtikeya seated on his majestic peacock with wide-spread wings holding the weapous Śakti (spear) and Daṇḍa

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फलकादौ पटादौ वा चित्रलेखनमारभेत् ॥
पटादौ फलकद्युक्तमार्गमाश्रित्य लेखयेत् । Śilparatna, p. 247

1. आलिखता चित्रफलके भूमिपालप्रतिबिम्बम्....Kā., p. 172.
2. प्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे....H. C., p. 153.
3. ....कामदेवपटः पाटनीयः Kā., p. 536.

4. These Kṣaṇikacitras (momentry pictures) are of two kinds, Rasa Citras and Dhūlī Citras. Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi gives some account of them: The former are drawn with colour paste—rice powder or Kāvī mixed with water—in various floral forms and zigzags as in South India. The Dhūlīcitra is done with colour powders—rice powder chiefly, colours also being employed to heighten the charm. Nārada Śilpa gives some account of this type of pictures under the head Bhaumika citra in the Chapter Citrālaṅkṛtiracanāvidhikathana.

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(club) and with flowing banners of crimson, and in the figures of Sūrya and Candra tinged orange crimson.[1]

Talking of this particular hobby which persists to this day as an essential characteristic of Hindu women all over India Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, whose observation and knowledge, as he himself confesses, is restricted to the Prabhu girl of the Bombay parts who is an expert in drawing the Rāngoli or sand-picture (Rangoli is the Skr. Rangavallī met with often in Skr. literature), says that 'this decoration in vivid colours consists of a running symbol of "Svastika" at its[2] four corners. The design is drawn upon the floor without any kind of guiding lines except dots put in without measurements to mark the points, and without pencil or brush. The charming artist takes some white marble dust in her hand and by holding it between finger and thumb in a certain way executes a fine outline and sometimes a *double* line, which she then fills in with different colours, often in most elaborate patterns.'[3] In another place he says that the "Rāngoli" drawings 'are filled in with beautiful tints mixed and graduated according to the fancy of the artist, and surrounded by highly original decorative details of flowers, fruits, birds, animals or figures, treated conventionally or realistically.'[4] His estimate of this type of pictures is noteworthy. 'It should be borne in mind', he says, 'that these pictures are *painted*. The prepared surface of cowdung is moistened, and the colours are mixed and rubbed in as a pigment with the fingers. The process is nearer to painting than to pastel. The art of the "Rāngoli" in

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1. उभयतश्च द्वारपक्षकयोर्मर्यादानिपुणेन गोमयैरभिरुत्तानविनिहितवराटकदन्तुराभिरन्तरान्तरागबद्धविविधवर्णरागरुचिरकूर्पासकुसुमलेशलाञ्छिताभिः कुसुम्भकेसरलवाश्लेषलोहिताभिर्लेखाभिरालिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तिजालमुपरचयता हारिद्रद्रावविच्छुरणपिञ्जरिताम्बरधारिणीं भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं कुर्वता विकचपक्षपुटविकटशिखण्डिपृष्ठमण्डलाधिरूढमालोललोहितघटितपताकमुल्लसितशक्तिदण्डप्रचण्डं कार्तिकेयं संघटयता विन्यस्तालक्तकपटलपाटलमध्यभागौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावाबध्नता.....पुरंध्रिवर्गेण समधिष्ठितम् Kā., p. 142—143.
2. The pedestal of the sacred Tulasī plant (or basil).
3. The Charm of Indian Art by W. E. Gladstone Solomon p. 59.
4. do. p. 142.

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one form or other is more or less general among the Hindus, and according to my information' he adds 'there are parts of Guzerat where the "Rāngoli" pictures are still to be found in a state of excellence'[1] What a pity he has not visited the South!

The activity of feminine fingers is not restricted to mere floor-decoration. There are other surfaces to be coloured and painted by this set of artists. Adepts in drawing designs of creepers and flowers they run their fingers bathed in colour dexterously over whitened pots and plates to beautify that essential insignia of marital auspiciousness; with colour on their finger-tips they tinge pieces of cotton into garlands of white and crimson; experienced in the preparations of unguents they make a light and sweet-smelling colour paste to highten the loveliness of the face—but this is quite by the way merely showing their artistic taste; the beautiful damsels are also engaged in making garlands of Lavaṅgas (cloves) with crystalline bits of camphor interspersed between them.[2] In the preparation of the cotton garlands of crimson and white, of the Lavaṅga garlands intermixed with camphor bits, of the garlands of small earthern balls with tiny golden ones interposed between them[3] there is exhibited a perfect knowledge of the great Law of contrast which is so excellently given out by Ruskin. 'Of course the character of everything is best manifested by contrast. Rest can only be enjoyed after labour; sound to be heard clearly, must rise out of silence; light is exhibited by darkness, darkness by light; and so on in all things. Now in art every colour has an opponent colour, which, if brought near it, will releive more completely than any other; so, also, every form and line may be made more strik-

1. The Charm of Indian Art, p. 142.

2. बहुविधवर्णकादिग्धाङ्गुलीभिर्ग्रीवासूत्राणि च चित्रयन्तीभिश्चित्रपत्रलतालेख्यकुशलाभिः कलशांश्च धवलिताञ्शीतलशाराशिरश्रेणीश्च मण्डयन्तीभिरभिन्नपुटकर्पासतूलपल्लवांश्च व्रैवाहिककङ्कणोर्णासूत्रसंनाहांश्च रञ्जयन्तीभिर्व्रलाशनाघृतघनीकृतकुङ्कुमकल्कमिश्रितांश्चाङ्गरागाँल्लावण्यविशेषकृन्ति च मुखालेपनानि कल्पयन्तीभिः कक्कोलमिश्राः सजातीफलाः स्फुरत्स्फीतस्फटिककर्पूरशकलखचितान्तराला लवङ्गमाला रचयन्तीभिः समन्तात्सामन्तसीमन्तिनीभिर्व्याप्तम् H. C., p. 143.

3. कुङ्कुमपङ्कपिञ्जरीकृतामूर्ध्वप्रोतकनकमयवनिकरकण्टकितामविरललग्नगौरसिद्धार्थकप्रकारतया काञ्चनरसखचितामिव मृन्मयगुटिकाकदम्बमालां विन्यस्यता- Kā., p. 143.

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ing to the eye by an opponent from or line near them; a curved line is set off by a straight one, a massy from by a slight one, and so on; and in all good work nearly double the value, which any given colour or form would have uncombined, is given to each by contrast.'[1]

Regarding the clever artistic work on pots and plates on marital occasions which has been in vogue in India for a very long time its importance as a separate phase of art is best manifested by the reference 'In Greek vase decoration the conventional floral forms, or the mannered animal figures that follow each other monotonously round vases of the "Oriental" style, belong to the domain of ornament, while the human forms, say, on the earliest red-figured vases, while displaying in pleasing patterns and in studied relation to the shape and structure of the vessel, exhibit so much variety and so great an effort on the part of the artist to achieve similitude to nature, that they claim a place for themselves in the annals of the painter's art.'[2] Tastes differ. What might be monotonous to Mr. G. B. Brown might be 'delicate and refined' to another. 'Among the model's says Ruskin addressing a gathering of artists and art students 'set before you in this institution, and in the others established throughout the Kingdom for the teaching of design, there are, I suppose, none in their kind more admirable than the decorated works of India. They are indeed, in all materials capable of colour, wool, marble or metal, almost inimitable in their delicate application of divided hue, and fine arrangement of fantastic line. Nor is this power of theirs exerted by the people rarely, or without enjoyment; the love of subtle design seems universal in the race'—note the word universal, no wonder women of India are adepts in the game—'and is developed in every implement that they shape, and every building that they raise; it attaches itself with the same intensity, and with the same success, to the service of superstition, of pleasure or of cruelty; and enriches alike, with one profusion of enchanted iridescence, the dome of the pagoda, the fringe of the girdle, and the edge of the sword.'[3] That Ruskin, the great believer in the moral law of the universe and the one who controls it, with all his religious fervour and deep philosophic thought, should have used the word 'superstition' in the case of the Indian pagoda, is

1. Elements of Drawing, p. 173.
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 20, eleventh edition.
3. The Two Paths—Conventional Art.

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alas! due to, and a monumental proof of, the fact that knowledge of India or her thought and ideals in England and elsewhere about the middle of the nineteenth century was very meagre and distorted and the British were prone to believe every fantastic tale that could possibly be invented by the human brain about the acts of the Indian mutineer, and hasty judgments regarding a whole nation were formed in the heat of the moment of which later thought needs must repent, and Ruskin is no exception.

Muslins and silks brought spotlessly white by the royal vashermen are dyed and dried in the shade by being waved to and fro by servants holding them at both ends; then over this soft subdued colour back ground creepers of various types are painted by the women. The कुटिलक्रमरूपक्रियमाणपल्लवपरभाग might mean both 'beautiful creepers done in fantastic curved lines' or beautiful creepers done in the wrong way the one side so that they might be seen aright in a subdued colour the other side of the thin fragile fabric.[1] Again we have the flowery drawings of human figures on the canopy and curtains reflected on the glossy cheeks of queen Yaśovatī asleep on her Royal couch.[2] This is one other of the very many great arts of India that are fast dying out.[3] Even to-day we have lingering signs of cloth-painting and fabric-decoration in some parts of our country. A few years more, and they may die out for lack of support. Anyway one would do well to see some of the beautiful painted cloths

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1. बहुविधभक्तिनिर्माणनिपुणपुराणपौरपुरंध्रिबध्यमानैर्बद्धैश्चाचारचतुरान्तःपुरजरतीजनितपूजाराजमानरजकरज्यमानै रक्तैश्चोभयपटान्तलग्नपीरञ्जनेप्रङ्खोलितैश्छायासु शोष्यमाणैः शुष्कैश्च कुटिलक्रमरूपक्रियमाणपल्लवपरभागैरपरैरारब्धकुङ्कुमपङ्कस्यासकृच्छुरणैरपरैरुद्भुजभुजिष्यमानभङ्गरोत्तरीयैः क्षौमैश्च बादरैश्च दुकूलैश्च लालातन्तुजैश्चांशुकैश्च नेत्रैश्च निर्मोकनिर्मलैरकठोरस्यागर्भकोलभैर्निःश्वासहार्यैः स्पर्शानुमेयैर्वासोभिः सर्वतः स्फरद्भिरिन्द्रायुधसहस्रैरिव संछादितम् Harṣ. p 143.

2. दिवसमधिशयानायाः शयनीयमपाश्रयपत्रमङ्गपुत्रिकाप्रतिमा विमलकपोलोदरगता प्रसवसमयं प्रतिपालयन्ती लक्ष्मीरिवालक्ष्यत Harṣ., p. 127

3. Textile Printing. "Textile" is a general name for all woven fabrics (Lat. texere, to weave), and the art of ornamenting such fabrics by printing on designs or patterns in colour is very ancient, probably originating in the East. It has been practised in some form, with considerable success, in China and India from time immemorial, and the Chinese, at least, are known to have made use of engraved wood-blocks many centuries before any kind of printing was known in Europe.

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from Northern India in the possession of Mr. Jinarajadasa to know what the last dying remnants of a once noble art can prove the worthiness of it.

Of Hogarth, it is said, being disgusted with his master's method of tuition consisting principally of copying pictures and being a youth enamoured of life, he had a habit of making notes on his thumbnails of faces and expressions to be enlarged afterwards on paper.[1] That was because he could find no other material on which he could materialise his idea of from and expression in his master's studio under his very nose. Miniature drawings on the human frame itself was a favourite pastime in India. Women used to adorn their faces and breasts with lovely drawings of undulating creepers and quaint dragons in which the curvature of the line and the colour of the from were marvellously exquisite.

In his sports King Tārāpīḍa's white upper garment gets a print of the dark foliage painted on the breasts of the ladies of his harem with Kṛṣṇāguru paste.[2] The King questions his queen, on another occasion, why she did not adorn her breasts with drawings of creepers.[3] The wondrous person that comes from the moon to take away the lifeless body of Puṇḍarīka has his shoulders marked with the crimson of the creepers painted on his beloved's breasts[4]. Thus there are two materials for painting on the body—Kuṅkuma and Kṛṣṇāguru to which a third,

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Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 26. It is not printing in our case but cloth painting done purely by the hand.

Tapestry. The Gr. Tapes and Lat. Tapesium, from which our word "Tapestry" is descended, implied a covering to both furniture and floors, as well as curtains or, wall hangings, and neither of them really defines the particular way in which such articles were made. The decorations on these Greek and Roman coverings were effected by painting, printing, embroidery, or a method of weaving with coloured threads; and specimens and other conclusive evidence show that early Egyptians, Babylonians, Chinese, Indians, Greeks and Romans employed some at least of the means above named. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 26.

1. Outline of art by Sir W. Orpen p. 286.
2. उल्लसितकुचकृष्णागुरुपङ्कपत्रलताङ्कितप्रच्छदपटम् Kā., 116.
3. किमिति च हरिण इव हरिणलाञ्छने नै लिखितः कृष्णागुरुपत्रभङ्गः पयोधरभरि Kā., p. 122.
4. कामिनीकुचकुङ्कुमपत्रलतालाञ्छितांसदेशः Kā, p. 313

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Kastūrī, which is to be mentioned presently, is to be added Generally sandal paste served as the ground-paint in such cases Not content with painting themselves the women went to the extent of even decorating dolls with such drawings. Thus we have one of the maidens in the palace of Kādambarī exhorting one of her companions to paint the breasts of a doll.[1] That even youths delighted in this, of decorating the body with paintings, is proved by the reference in Harṣacarita of young Dadhīca smelling sweet with creepers marked on his body with Kastūrī.[2] The artistic figures of swans painted with Kastūrī on the border of the fine fabric covering the shoulders of King Śūdraka[3] show the highly developed æsthetic taste of the time.

We have so far discussed the methods of painting on various surfaces. Now to the colours. Bāṇa is aware of five primary colours[4] and a host of other tints. Apart from the variety of colour-tints that he mentions in almost every page of his works, he actually gives us some mixed tints—secondary colours—got by mixing primary colours. He points out that blue and white give the grey colour of smoke.[5] Yellow and blue make up green.[6] Red and blue produce purple.[7] A separate variegated hue is mentioned wherein various colours play a part.[8] India recognises a separate variegated hue just as she accepts white as a distinct colour quite in opposition to the theory of the western artists.

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1. निपुणिके, लिख मणिशालभञ्जिकास्तनेषु कुङ्कमरसपत्रभङ्गान् Kā., p. 335

2. आमोदितमृगमदपङ्कालिखितपत्रभङ्गभास्वरम् H. C,, p. 22.

3. अमृतफेनधवले गोरोचनालिखितहंसमिथुनसनाथपर्यन्ते चारुचामरवायुप्रनर्तितान्तर्देशे दुकूले वसानम् Kā., p. 17.

4. पञ्चरागविचित्रचेल Kā., p. 143.

5. स्कन्धदेशावलम्बिना कृष्णाजिनेन नीलपाण्डुभासा तप्ततृष्णानिपीतेनान्तर्निपतता धूमपटलेनेव परीतमूर्तिः Kā., p. 72

सरस्वत्यपि शशा किंचिदधोमुखी धवलकृष्णशारां कृष्णाजिनलेखामिव दृष्टिमुरसि पातयन्ती H. C., 13.

6. आकुलाकुलकाकपक्षधारिणा कनकशलाकानिर्मितमध्यन्तर्गतशुकप्रभाश्यामायमानं मरकतमयमिव पञ्जरमुद्वहता चाण्डालदारकेणानुगम्यमानम् Kā., p. 21.

7. आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविर्नीलपाटलः कषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बूफलरसः Kā., p. 36.

8. अचिराच्च सिद्धकन्यकाविक्षिप्तसन्ध्यार्चनकुसुमशबलमिव तारकितं वियदराजत Kā., p. 95.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE KATHOPANISHAD AND THE GITA. BY D. S. SARMA, M.A.— Professor, Presidency College, Madras. (M. R. Seshan, Publisher; Triplicane, Madras, 1932, Re. one.)

Professor D. S. Sarma, has earned a well deserved reputation as an interpreter, of Hinduism in general and "The Bhagavad-gītā" in particular, to the youth of this land. His new book with the caption given above is another piece of service in the same field. The Kaṭhopaniṣad which, according to Max Muller, is "probably more widely known than any other upaniṣad", is a specially suitable subject for study by the young men and women of India, among the 108 and more upaniṣads. It deals with the yearning and the choice of a very young man; and who knows that there are not, in modern Young India, many "mute inglorious" Naciketasas who, if well directed, would choose as he did, even in the face of the glittering prizes of the present day materialism. And no other upaniṣad puts the supramecy of spirituality, as it does, so simply, so straightly and so succinctly, untrammelled by extraneous discussions. Mr. Sarma's edition, intended as a "companion volume to" "his edition of the Gītā" consists of an Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes. As in the case of "Prefaces" to Bernard Shaw's plays the introduction is as important as the rest of the work. In it Mr. Sarma discusses many points of great interest; and though all may not agree with all that is said in it, it is a useful piece of work, as it states briefly and clearly the main *motif* of the upaniṣads. The reader will find in it the result of much study and careful and reverant thought. Section V of the Introduction which gives the parrallel passages from the Gītā and the Kaṭhopaniṣad will interest those with a penchant for comparative study. We hope, however, that such a study will not lead to a disbelief, as it has done in the case of a well read Pandit like T. Sitanath Tattvabhushan, in the truths and reality of Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa having given any teaching to Arjuna on the battlefeild at Kurukṣetra. Pandit Sitanath used the similarity of the language to disprove the historicity of that immortal scene.

There have been many previous translations of the Kaṭhopaniṣad. Max Muller; Muir; Weber; Windischmann; Gough;

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Poley; Regnand, among the Westerns. Rajah Ram Mohun Roy; J. C. Chatterjee ; Arbindo Ghose; Swami Sharvananda; H. R. Bhagwat among the easterns have rendered it into English. Professor Sarma had thus much to help him in his endeavour, and in many places his translation is very readable and particularly clear. (e.g., Ch. II, Sl. 7; Ch. II. Sl. 18; Ch. V, Sl. 2; Ch. VI, Sl. 17.) Translating an upaniṣad into English is, however, no easy work; and it is not therefore surprising that in more than one place the English word or phrase used by Mr. Sarma does not interpret the original adequately. A few examples will perhaps be useful in preparing a second edition. "Fall out" for विद्विषावहै in the Śānti verse is not in consonance with the dignity of the theme. "Dispute" would seem to be better. श्रद्धा in Ch. I, Sl. 2 is rendered as "faith". The difference between the two is immense. Like धर्म it is untranslatable and it is very difficult to put all that it means into a single English word or phrase. If such a phrase must be used "earnest belief" may perhaps serve, though even that would be a poors ubstitute. In Ch. II. Śl. 1 and 2 श्रेयस् is translated as "Good". That is quite inadequate and there seems to be no single appropriate word for it. In such cases a translator would do well to use the Sanskrit word itself and an explanatory note may be added when it occurs first. In Ch. II, Śl. 5, "pass" is unhappy. It suggests conciousness of imposture and there is no justification for it in the text; "are deemed to be" will perhaps be better. In Ch. 1, Śl. 20 "is" and "is not" are inexpressive. "Survives" and "does not survive" will bring out the intention more clearly. "Grasp" for लब्धा in Ch. II, Śl. 7, "reasoning" for तर्केण in Ch. II, Śl. 9, "creatures" for जन्तोः in Ch. II, Śl. 20, "Intellect" for बुद्धया in Ch. III, Sl. 12, "doomed" in Ch. IV, Śl. 1 require revision. There are other similar inadequate expressions, but there is no room in this review save to one among them. Svāmi Vivekānanda has made the first line of Ch. III, Śl. 14, famous, by this "Awake Arise *And stop not till the goal is reached.*" Professor Sarma's "Awake Arise, *Approach great teachers and learn*" sound rather flat by comparison. But it must be added that the professor has, on this point, many another translator on his side.

The format of the book is attractive, but to reach the poor student for whom this new translation is evidently intended the price should be less.

C. V. K.

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[1]कियन्मात्रविपर्ययावस्थितसत्त्वानां परिग्रहणाय चक्षुरिन्द्रियमिति प्रज्ञपितम् । न तु परमार्थतः । शून्यं हीन्द्रियं स्वभावेन शून्यं चेन्द्रियत्वेन । तत्र चक्षुर्न चक्षुस्त्वेन विद्यते । इन्द्रियं नेन्द्रियत्वेन । तत्कस्य हेतोः । [2]शून्यं हि चक्षुश्चक्षुस्स्वभावेन । यस्य धर्मस्य स्वभावो न विद्यते सोऽवस्तुकः । योऽवस्तुकः सोऽपरिनिष्पन्नः । स नोत्पद्यते न निरुध्यते । सोऽतीतोऽनागत इति न प्रज्ञप्तिकरः । इत्यादि । तद्यथा हि भगवन् स्वप्ने मनुष्यस्य हासरतिक्रीडाः । सुप्तशयितविबुद्धः तदनुस्मरणे तत्स्मरणमपि न लभते । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वप्नेऽपि तेन तासु अलब्धासु शयितविबोधे दर्शनं...[3]नास्य वर्तते । तथेन्द्रियाणि स्वप्नतुल्यानि । एवं सर्वोऽपि धर्मो न स्वभावेनोपलभ्यते । तस्य हेतोस्तेऽनभिलाप्या इति । [4]..... एवं स्कन्धधात्वायतनप्रतीत्यसमुत्पादादय इन्द्रियवद्व्याख्याताः । तेन तेषां स्वभावः कुत्रास्ति । तस्मादविचारितशून्यताप्रवचनाभिप्रायैः प्रज्ञाव्यायामं विना योजितोऽयं विज्ञानवादः प्रत्याख्येय एव ॥

(163,8) अत्राह । यद्यपि चक्षुरिन्द्रियं विना ज्ञानं नास्ति । तथापि गुरूपदेशाद्योगिनां कङ्कालपरिपूर्णभूमिर्दृष्टा तत्कथम् । उच्यते ।

गुरूपदेशात्किल योगिनां हि
कङ्कालपूर्णावनिदर्शनं यत् ।
तत्राप्यजातं त्रिकमेव दृष्टं

विषय इन्द्रियं विज्ञानम् । कस्मात् । स समाधिः

मिथ्यामनस्कारतयोच्यते हि ॥ ६९ ॥

(163,16) अयं ह्यतत्त्वमनस्कार इति प्रवर्तनात् । अयमवश्यमभ्युपेयः ।

अन्यथा

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1. Tib, ci. tsam. du = कियन्मात्र ?
2. Cf. शिक्षास० p. 261,4.
3. Tib., ci. htshal. te.
4. Tib., bgyi. ste. shes. hbyuṅ. ṅo.

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तवाक्षबुद्धेर्विषया यथैव
सन्त्येवमेवाशुभचेतसोऽपि ।
तथात्र देशेऽर्पितबुद्धिरन्यो
जानाति नामैष मृषापि न स्यात् ॥ ७० ॥

(164,5) यथा ते नाटकरङ्गादि पश्यतः तद्देशसमर्पितचक्षुष्षु एकस्य यथा तदाकारकं चक्षुर्विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । एवमन्येषामपि । तथा कङ्कालादिविषयं पश्यतां योग्ययोगिनामपि तदाकारकं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते नीलादिविज्ञानवत् । समाधिरनिर्दंतत्वमनस्कारोऽपि न भवेत् । तथा

समस्य वै तैमिरिकेन्द्रियेण
प्रेतस्य नद्यामपि पूयबुद्धिः ।

ज्ञेया । [1]केशेक्षणं यत्तिमिरप्रभावात् इति यदुक्तं तत्समानतयोपपत्तिमदन्यदपि वेदितव्यमित्यलं प्रपञ्चेन ॥

संक्षेपतो ज्ञेयमसद्यथैवं
न धीरपीत्यर्थमिमं ह्यवेहि ॥ ७१ ॥

(165,1) ज्ञेयस्वभावो यथा नास्ति तथा ज्ञेयाकारकधीरपि स्वात्मतोऽनुत्पन्ना वेदितव्या । यथोक्तम् ।

अज्ञाने न हि विज्ञेयं विज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विना ।
ज्ञानज्ञेये पुनस्तस्मात्त्वयोक्ते निस्स्वभावके ॥ इति । तथा

मायोपमं च विज्ञानमुक्तमादित्यबन्धुना[2] ।
तथा तदुपलम्भोऽपि मायावस्तुसमं ध्रुवम् ॥ इति च ।

1. See VI. 29. above
2. Cited in मध्य. वृत्ति. p. 549,4 (L. V. P.).

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(165,13) तस्माद्विज्ञानवस्तुवादापस्मारगृहीतो बाह्यविषयापवादी अयं कस्मादात्मप्रपाते न पतिष्यतीति परमकारुणिकैर्युक्त्यागमसुमन्त्रजपेनात्यन्त-माक्रम्य गृह्यते ॥

अत एवं बाह्यं विना विज्ञानं न संभवतीति प्रदर्श्य वस्तुमात्रसत्तां प्रतिषेधितुमाह ।

ग्राह्यं विना ग्राहकताविहीनं
यदि द्विशून्यं परतन्त्रमस्ति ।
ज्ञायेत केनाऽस्य पुनश्च सत्त्व-
मग्राह्यमस्तीति न युज्यते हि ॥ ७२ ॥

(166,5) यदि ग्राह्यग्राहकोभयशून्यं परतन्त्रमस्ति । तत्सत्त्वं च तस्य त्वया केन ज्ञातमुपलभ्यते । न तेनैव तद्ग्रह उपपद्यते । स्वात्मनि क्रियाविरोधात् । तद्यथा न [2]तयैवासिधारया सैव च्छिद्यते । न तेनैवाङ्गुल्यग्रेण तदेव स्पृश्यते । न सुशिक्षितेनापि पटुना [3]नटेन स्वस्कन्धमारोढुं शक्यते । नाग्निना स्वात्मा दह्यते । न चक्षुषा स्वात्मा दृश्यते ॥

(166,13) तद्धि ज्ञानान्तरेण गृह्यत इत्यपि न । [4]स्वसिद्धान्तविरोधात् । विज्ञप्त्यन्तरं यदि विज्ञप्तिविषयः । विज्ञप्तिमात्रता प्रहीयते इति प्रवर्तनात् । अत एवमस्य ग्रहणं सर्वथा नास्ति । अग्राह्यस्य तु न सत्तास्ति ॥

(166,19) अत्राह । यद्यप्यन्यगृहीतमन्यन्नास्ति । तथापि स्वसंवेदनमस्ति । अतः स्वसंवेदनादेव तद्ग्रहणात् सत्त्वमस्ति इति चेत् । तदपि नास्तीत्याह ।

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1. Tib., tshal cher = अत्यन्त ?

2. Cf. शिक्षास० p. 235,7 and बो० प० p. 393, 3.

3. Tib. gze. can नट, न हि सुशिक्षितोऽपि नटवदुः स्वस्कन्धमधिरोढुं पटुः । *See* Col. Jacob; लौकिकन्यायाञ्जलि, part II. p. 44.

4. The Siddhānta of Vijñanavādin is *Vijñaptimātratva i. e. Cittadharmatā* without *grāhyagrāhakabhāva*. Compare विंशककारिका, 28 of Vasubandhu and भाष्य of Sthiramati thereon (p. 43, ed. Levi).

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तैनैव तस्यानुभवो न सिद्धः ।

(167,4) तेनैव तदग्रहणमितीदमसिद्धम् । अत्र कश्चित् सौत्रान्तिकपक्षमुपगम्य स्वसंवित्तिप्रसाधनायाह । यथाऽनलो जात एव स्वात्मानं घटादींश्च युगपत् द्योतयति उभयमप्रविश्य । शब्दश्च स्वात्मानमर्थं च प्रकाशयति । तथा विज्ञानमपि उत्पन्नमेवोभयमप्रविश्य स्वात्मानं विषयं च प्रतिसंवेदयति । अतः स्वसंवित्त्याख्यमस्त्येव । यश्च नेच्छति, तेनाप्यवश्यं स्वसंवित्तिरुपेतव्या । अन्यथा दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालसंभूतस्मरणात् विषयस्मरणं मया दृष्टमिति विषयानुभवस्मरणं च न स्यात् । कस्मात् । स्मरणं हि अनुभूतविषयकम् । ज्ञानस्य चाननुभवात् स्मरणं न भविष्यति । स्वसंवित्तेरभावात् न तावत्तेनैव तदनुभवोऽस्ति । नापि ज्ञानान्तरेण तदनुभवो युक्तः । कस्मात् । ज्ञानान्तरेण तदनुभवेऽनवस्थाप्रसङ्गः । तथा हि नीलादिपरिच्छेदकस्यैकज्ञानस्य तत्प्र[1]वृत्तिधारोद्भूतविज्ञानेन परिच्छेदाभ्युपगमे पूर्वज्ञानेन तस्यापि ज्ञानस्य नीलज्ञानादन्येनानुभोक्त्रा भवितव्यम् । तस्याप्यन्येन भवितव्यमित्यनवस्थादोषप्रसङ्गः । [2]ज्ञानं च [3]विषयान्तरमपि परिच्छिन्द्यात् । सकलविज्ञानसन्ततेः[4] ज्ञानान्तरविषयत्वात् सत्त्वस्यैकविज्ञानसन्ततित्वाच्च । [2]उत्पलशतपत्रवेधवत् क्रमेणोत्पन्नानि विज्ञानानि शीघ्रं प्रवृत्तानि युगपत् प्रवृत्तानीव प्रज्ञायन्ते । तस्मादनवस्थादोषपरिहाराय अवश्यं स्वसंवित्तिरुपगन्तव्या । एवं सति मया दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालोत्पन्नमुभयविषयकस्मरणमपि सिध्यति । ज्ञानस्वभावस्वसंवित्तिनिर्मुक्ते न तद्विषयकस्मरणमेतद्युक्तम् । अतो मया दृष्टमित्युत्तरकालस्मृतिजननात् अनुभवज्ञानं स्वात्मानं विषयात्मानं चानुभवज्ञातमनुमीयते । यत उत्तरकालमुभयविषयकस्मरणं जायते । तस्मात् उत्तरकालस्मरणात् स्वानुभवः सिद्धः । सति च स्वानुभवे परतन्त्रं विद्यते । अतस्तत्र योऽवादीत् 'ज्ञायेत केनास्य पुनश्च सत्वम्' इति स्यादिति । [तस्य] एष उपदेश इति । तदपि न युज्यते इति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

1. Tib., hjug. thogs. su. hbyun bai
2. किञ्च इत्यादिः ।
3. सन्तानान्तरीयविज्ञानम् ।
4. Tib., rgyun. lugs.

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तेनैव तस्यानुभवो न युक्तः
यद्यूर्ध्वकालस्मरणाच्च सिध्येत् ।
उदीरितं साधयितुं ह्यसिद्ध-
मसिद्धमेतन्न च साधयेत्तु ॥ ७३ ॥

(169,7) तत्र यदि तावत् वस्तुसाधनमधिकृत्य तथा वचनम्। तदा स्वतः परतो जन्माभावात् सर्वथास्मरणासंभवेन कथमसिद्धं स्मरणमसिद्धं स्वसंवेदनं साधयति । अथ लोकव्यवहारवशादस्ति । एवमपि स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्मरणं नैव संभवति । कस्मात् । यद्यत्र केनचित् ज्ञानेन स्वसंवेदनमग्निवत् सिद्धं भवेत् । तदस्तीति च सत्ता धूमेन वह्निवदूर्ध्वकालोत्पन्नस्मरणेन निश्चीयेत । सा तु स्वसंवित्तिर्योग्यतयाप्यसिद्धेति स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्वसंवित्तिं विनानुत्पन्नं स्मरणं कुतो भवेत् । न हि जलमात्रदर्शनात् चन्द्रकान्तमणेः अग्निमात्रदर्शनाद्वा सूर्यकान्तमणेः सद्भावोऽस्ति । तौ विनापि वर्षादिना अरणिमथनादिना च सलिलानलयोरुद्भवात् । एवमत्रापि स्वसंवित्तिं विना यथा स्मरणं भवति तथा वक्ष्यते[1] । तस्मात् स्वसंवित्तिहेतुकं स्मरणं तां विना नास्तीत्यसिद्धं साधयितुं स्वसंवित्तेः साधनायोक्तस्मरणवाक्यमसिद्धमेतत्सिद्धिप्रयोजनवन्न सिध्यति । अनित्यस्य शब्दस्य चक्षुर्ग्राह्यतावदिति भावः ॥

(170,6) अथैवं विचारं त्यक्त्वापि

स्ववेदनं सिध्यतु नाम कामं
स्मृतस्मृतिर्नैव तथापि युक्ता ।
अज्ञानिसन्तानजवत् परत्वात्
विशेषणं हन्ति च लिङ्गमेतत् ॥ ७४ ॥

यद्यपि ज्ञानं स्वात्मानं विषयं च वेदयति । तथापि स्मृतिज्ञानात् न तयोः स्मरणं युक्तम् । स्मृतिज्ञानस्य हि विषयानुभवज्ञानादन्यत्वेनोपगमात् । न हि मैत्रज्ञानस्य स्वसंवित्तिः विषयानुभवश्च पूर्वमनुभवादुपगुप्तज्ञानेन स्मर्यते । तथा अज्ञानिसन्तानजवत् परत्वात् स्वसन्तानगतज्ञानस्य ऊर्ध्वकालमुत्पत्तावपि ज्ञानार्थयोरननुभूतत्वान्न स्मरणं [2]भवति ।

1. *See* VI, 75. below.
2. स्वसन्तानगतविज्ञानेन इति शेषः ।

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(170,20) अथ मन्यसे । एकसन्तानगतानां हेतुफलभाववर्तित्वात् स्मरणं भविष्यतीति । तदपि नास्ति । यस्मात्

—विशेषणं हन्ति च लिङ्गमेतत् ।

परत्वादिति यल्लिङ्गम् । इदमेकसन्तानगतत्वहेतुफलभावादिविशेषणं सर्वमुपहन्ति—। स्मृतिज्ञानक्षणं ह्यनुभवोत्तरकालोत्पन्नं सन्तानान्तरज्ञानवत्परत्वान्नानुभवज्ञानेनैकसन्तानगतम् । नापि हेतुफलभाववर्ति । इत्यादिकं परत्वादिति हेतुनानेनैव विस्तरेण प्रतिषेधयितव्यम् ॥

(171,12) तव दर्शने कथम्[1] । उच्यते ।

यस्मात् पुनर्यत् विषयानुभोक्तृ
स्मृतिः परा नास्ति ततो ममेयम् ।
तस्मान्मया दृष्टमिति स्मृतिः स्या-
देषापि लोकव्यवहारनीतिः ॥ ७५ ॥

यत् विषयानुभोक्तृ विषयानुभवज्ञानं ततः स्मृतिज्ञानमन्यदेव यथा नास्ति । तथा पूर्वमुक्तमेव । यस्मात् स्मृतिरन्यैव नास्ति । तस्मात् यदनुभवेनानुभूतं न तत् स्मृतिज्ञानेनाननुभूतमिति स्मरणं विषययुक्तमुत्पद्यते । यदनुभवज्ञानेन परिच्छिन्नं न तत् स्मृत्या अपरिच्छिन्नमिति मया दृष्टमित्यप्यस्ति । एषापि लोकस्थितिः । न तु अत्यन्तं विचारणीया । मृषार्थत्वेन लोकव्यवहारात् ॥

(172,8) यस्मादेवम् ।

तस्मादसत्यां पुनरात्मवित्तौ
गृह्णाति कस्ते परतन्त्र[रूपम्] ।
कर्तुश्च कर्मक्रिययोरनैक्यात्
तेनैव तस्य ग्रहणं न युक्तम् ॥ ७६ ॥

आत्मानं वेदयतीति वेद्य आत्मा कर्मभावं याति । वेद्यः सोऽपि कर्ता । तत्क्रियाप्यभिन्नैवेति कर्ता कर्म क्रिया च एकं प्रसज्यते । न ह्येतान्ये-

1. स्मरणम् इति शेषः ।

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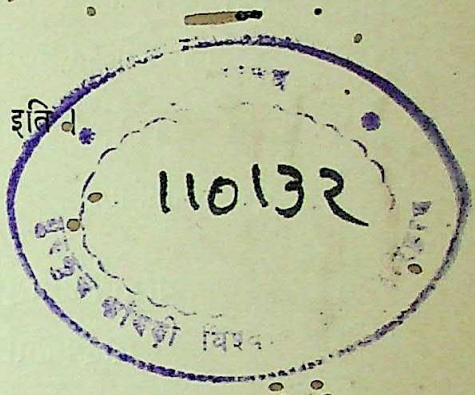
कत्वेन दृष्टानि । तथा हि छेत्ता वृक्षः छेदनक्रिया च नैकम् । अस्माच्च स्वसंवित्तेरभावात् न तेनैव तद्ग्रहः ॥ [1]आर्यलङ्कावतारसूत्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।

स्वधारं हि यथा खड्गं स्वाग्रं वै अङ्गुलिर्यथा ।
न च्छिन्दते न स्पृशते तथा चित्तं स्वदर्शने ॥ इति ।



(173,3) अतश्चैवं स्वसंवित्तेरभावात्

उत्पत्तिहीनं यदि नाम वस्त्व-
ज्ञानात्मकं स्यात् परतन्त्ररूपम् ।
वन्ध्यासुतेनापकृतिः कृता का
परस्य युक्तस्य न येन सत्ता ॥ ७७ ॥

परतोऽनुत्पन्नं परतन्त्रं सामान्यतः पूर्वमुक्तम्[2] । अधुना त्वज्ञानात्मकमप्युच्यते । अत एवं यद्युत्पत्तिहीनमज्ञानात्मकं परतन्त्ररूपमस्तीत्यङ्गीकरोषि । वन्ध्यासुतेन तव कोऽपराधः कृतः । यस्मात् परतन्त्रसमानधर्मकमप्येनमस्तित्वेन नेच्छसि । अस्ति हि वन्ध्यासुताख्यं सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतमार्यज्ञानगोचरभूतमनभिलाप्यस्वभावकमितीदमप्यस्तितयेष्यताम् । यच्च प्रज्ञप्तिसद्वस्तुनिबन्धनमित्युक्तं[3] तदपि परतन्त्रे सत्येव युज्यताम् ।

यदान्यतन्त्रं न हि किञ्चिदस्ति
भवेच्च हेतुः खलु संवृतेः कः ।

(174,1) सांवृतानां हेतुर्न कश्चिदपीति भावः । तस्मादत्र लोकव्यवहारस्य यो हेतुः तस्य स्वयमेवाभावात् । अहो बत

परस्य वस्तुप्रणयेन दृष्टौ
नष्टाखिला लोकगता व्यवस्था ॥ ७८ ॥

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1. p. 335 verse 568 (Kyoto ed.). Tib., reads स्ववेदन for स्वदर्शन ।
2. *See* p. 150 Tibetan Text.
3. VI. 47. above.

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प्रज्ञाविहीनः वस्त्वंशमात्राभिलाषेण परतन्त्रघटं सोमं त्यक्त्वा सलिलेनेव पूरयन् स्वमतिदुर्नयात् लोकव्यवस्था लोकादेव न सिद्धाः याः भव, गच्छ, कुरु, पच, इत्येवमादिकाः तथा रूपं वेदना इत्यादिकाश्च ताः सर्वा विनष्टा अवैति । अतोऽस्य केवलं संततिरेव संभवेत् । न त्वभ्युदयः ॥

(174,13) तस्मादेवमाचार्याणां विपर्ययात् स्वविकल्पेन[1] प्रयोगसमयमार्ग एव वर्तमानानाम्

आचार्यनागार्जुनपादमार्गा-
द्बहिर्गतानां न शिवेऽस्त्युपायः ।

कस्मात् । यस्मात्

भ्रष्टा हि ते संवृतितत्त्वसत्यात्
तद्भ्रंशतश्चास्ति न मोक्षसिद्धिः[2] ॥ ७९ ॥

कस्मात् पुनः सत्यद्वयात् परिभ्रंशतो न मोक्षसिद्धिः । आह

उपायभूतं व्यवहारसत्यं
उपेयभूतं परमार्थसत्यम् ।
तयोर्विभागं न परैति यो वै
मिथ्याविकल्पैः स कुमार्गयातः[3] ॥ ८० ॥

(175,7) यथोक्तमार्यतत्त्वनिर्देशसमाधौ

सत्य इमि द्वि लोकविदूनां
दिष्ट स्वयं अश्रुणित्व चरेषाम् ।
संवृति या च परमार्थो
सत्सु न सिध्यति किं च तृतीयु[4] ॥

1. The same phrase is used in p. 135, 15. Tibetan Text.
2. Cited in सुभाषितसंग्रह fol. 22 (L. V. P.)
3. Cited Ibid and बो० प० p. 372 (L. V. P.).
4. This verse is cited (with variants) in बो० प० 361, 16 as an extract from पितापुत्रसमागम (L. V. P.) Tib reads लोकविदुषां instead of लोकविदूनां and विद्यति in place of सिध्यति ।

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